This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

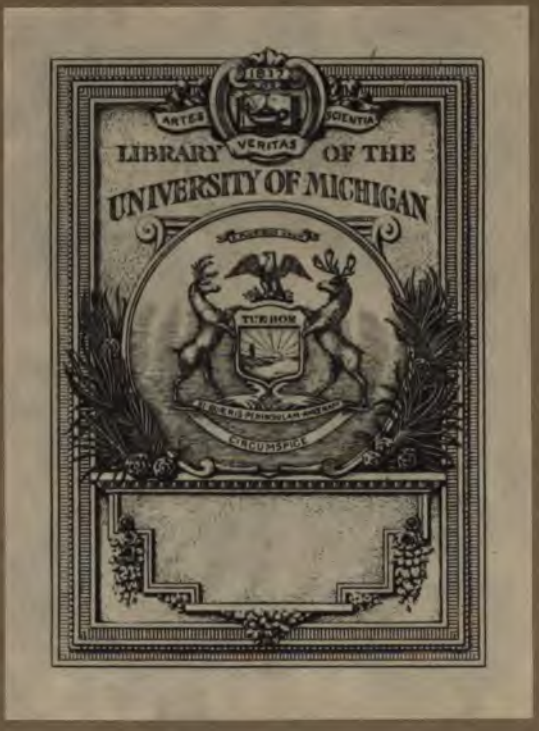
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

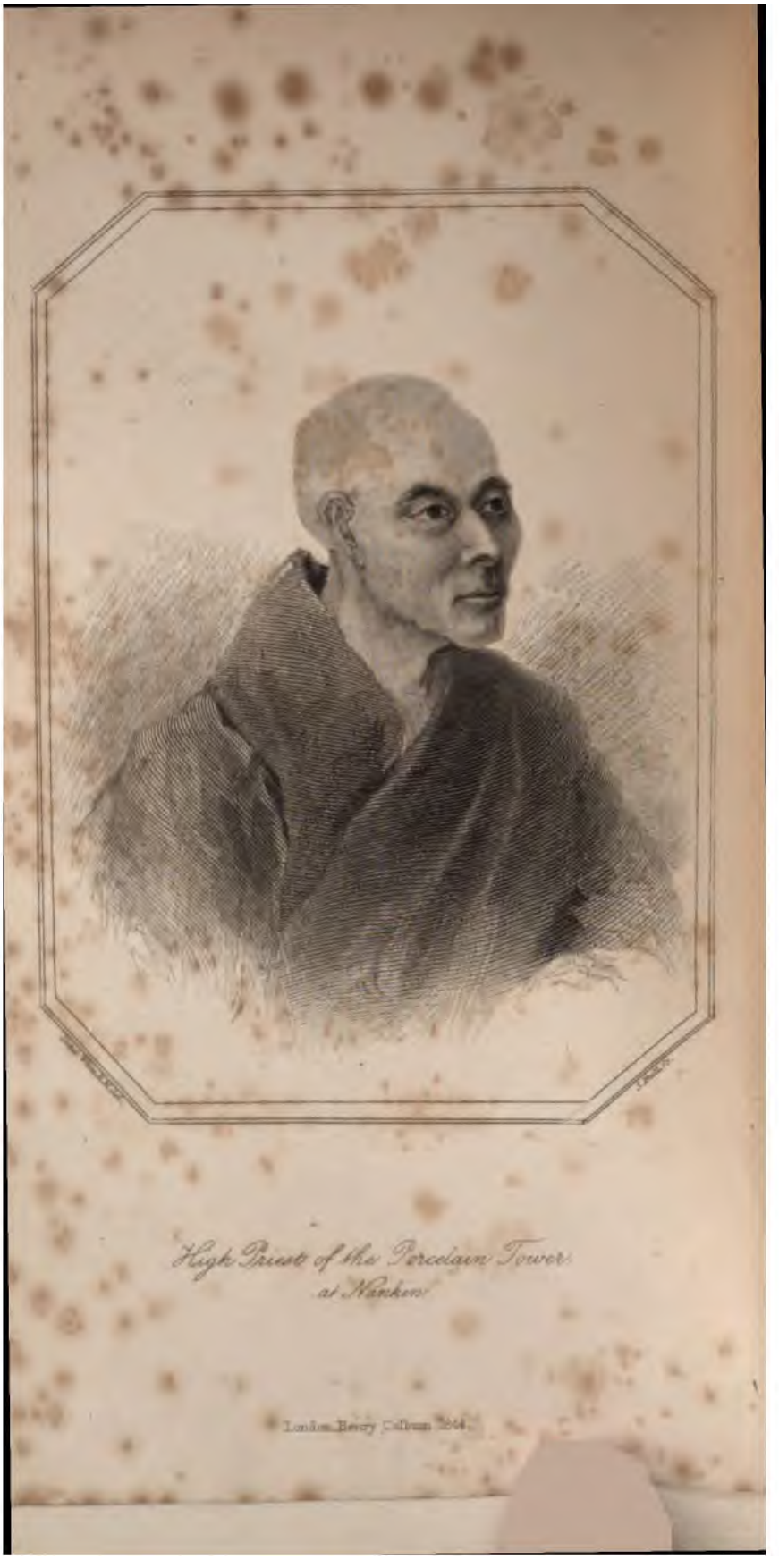
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,088,321


ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TURBOM
CIRCUMSPICE



High Priest of the Porcelain Tower at Nankin

London, Henry Colburn 1814

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGES AND SERVICES

OF

THE NEMESIS,

FROM 1840 TO 1843;

AND OF THE COMBINED

NAVAL AND MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CHINA:

COMPRISING A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF

THE COLONY OF HONG KONG,

AND REMARKS ON

THE CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE CHINESE.

FROM NOTES OF

COMMANDER W. H. HALL, R. N.

WITH PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS,

BY

W. D. BERNARD, ESQ., A. M., OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1844.

FREDERICK SHOBERL, JUNIOR,
PRINTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET, LONDON.

Lib. Com.
French BK - Peiping
10-4-1935
31057
2 v.

PREFACE.

The design originally proposed, when the following work was undertaken, has been somewhat departed from, during its progress towards completion. Not only did the interest awakened by the various subjects treated of greatly increase, as the Author proceeded in his attempt to describe the scenes in which the Nemesis bore so distinguished a part, but the introduction of much collateral matter seemed to be called for, in order to enable him fully to illustrate the current of passing events. Hence the narrative of the adventures of the Nemesis gradually expanded itself into a complete history of the origin, progress, and termination of all the recent interesting occurrences in China, including a full and accurate account of all the operations of the war, and of the complicated difficulties from which it originated, as well as of the peculiar features that marked its progress.

In addition, therefore, to her own interesting tale, the Nemesis supplied a valuable foundation upon which to build up a more enlarged History. The Author had long taken a deep interest in all that concerned our relations with China; and, with a view to study personally the character of the people, and to obtain accurate information by observation on the spot, he paid a lengthened visit to that country in 1842. He there had the good fortune to fall in with the Nemesis,

and, through the kindness of Captain Hall, he subsequently proceeded in her to Calcutta, in the beginning of 1843. He has thus been enabled to add to the history of the operations copious notices of the various places visited by the expedition; and has given a full description of the New Colony of Hong Kong, with remarks upon its vast importance, as a possession of the British Empire, upon the threshold of China.

Incidental observations have been introduced upon the character of the Chinese people, and the new prospects which have been opened to us, through the extraordinary changes which have taken place in our intercourse with them, in a social, moral, mercantile, and religious point of view. These will be met with, according as they were suggested by particular occurrences, or prompted by localities described in the work. The Maps and Illustrations will also contribute to give interest to the Narrative.

The Author owes some apology to naval and military readers, for the apparent presumption with which he has ventured to handle so many details of a professional character; nor indeed would he have undertaken the task, without the able advice and correction of officers who were themselves actors in the scenes described. The valuable assistance and co-operation of Captain Hall, who was actively employed in China, during the whole period of the war, and whose services in command of the Nemesis need no extraneous encomium, were indispensable to the completion of the work. The Author also gladly avails himself of this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness of Captain Sir Thomas Her-

bert, R. N., K. C. B., who obligingly permitted him to have access to his plans and documents; and to numerous other naval and military officers the best thanks of Captain Hall and himself are due.

Those readers who are alive to the important progress of Steam Navigation cannot fail to take a deep interest in the History of the first Iron Steamer that ever doubled the Cape of Good Hope. In the narrative of her curious and protracted voyage will be found many notices of the places she visited, and, in particular, of some of the Portuguese slave settlements on the East Coast of Africa, at Delagoa Bay, at Mozambique, &c. The description given of the Comoro Islands will probably be quite new to most readers.

At the end of the work will be found an account of a visit to some of the Harbours of the important Island of Hainan, which must acquire greater importance through the progressive increase of our commercial intercourse with China; and in the appendix to the second volume have been added the new regulations concerning trade in China, and an abstract of the supplementary treaty recently concluded.

With much diffidence, but entertaining a hope that the numerous subjects touched upon in these volumes have not been hastily or crudely handled, the Author commits his Narrative to the kind indulgence of his Readers.

W. D. B.

Oxford and Cambridge Club,
March, 1844.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

ENGRAVINGS.

1. Portrait of the Chief Priest of the Porcelain Tower . *Frontispiece.*
2. The Nemesis . . . . . *to face page* 1
3. Houchung, in the Broadway River . . . 384

WOODCUTS.

4. Plan of a Temporary Rudder 34
5. Plan of Lee-board 37
6. New Method of strengthening Iron Steamers . . 77
7. Plans of Repairs of Nemesis 79
8. Plan of Naval Operations before Canton, 18th of March 413

MAPS.

9. Track Chart, England to China 128
10. Canton River, and its branches, with Plan of Operations at Canton . . . . . *End of the Vol.*

VOL. II.

ENGRAVINGS.

11. Tombs of the Kings, and sculptured Monsters . *Frontispiece.*
12. Sheipoo . . . . . *to face page* 182
13. Battle of Woosung 352

WOODCUTS.

14. } Chinese Caricatures of the English . . 225
15. }
16. Bridge of Boats at Ningpo 232

MAP.

17. Hong Kong 66

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—First visit of a British Admiral to China—Difficulties—Disturbance at Canton—Preparations in England — Iron Steam Vessels to be tried—Nemesis, the first of the kind which crossed the Line—England's "Iron Walls"—Description of the Nemesis—Her peculiarities — Moveable Keels — Correction of the Compasses — Professor Airy's method — Nemesis leaves Liverpool—Accident against a rock through errors of the Compasses — Leak stopped — Proceed to Portsmouth—Recent improvements—Clears out for Odessa—Departure from Portsmouth — Public curiosity — Mystery concerning her — First night at sea—Cape Finisterre—Island of Madeira—Rapid change from winter to summer — Approach to the island — Harbour of Funchal—Coaling a Steamer 1

CHAPTER II.

Funchal—Excursion into the interior of Madeira—Voyage continued —Princes' Island—Kroomen—Port St. Antonio—Fuel to be obtained there and at Fernando Po—The "Mystery" — Island of St. Thomas's—St. Anne de Chaves the principal town—Productions—Kroomen—Their character—Resemble Abyssinians—Are never slaves—Governor's house —Interview with his Excellency—Black Aide-de-camp—Request not to fire a salute—"Badly off for powder"—Secret trading-place for slaves—Major Sabine's observations — Cross the Line — Experiments with one engine and one boiler — Rudder carried away — New contrivance—Compelled to stand out to sea under sail — Adaptation of a lee-board — Voyage continued—Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope . 19

CHAPTER III.

Table Bay—In the Winter months—Nemesis visited by the Governor — Curiosity of the people at an iron vessel — Trip round the Bay — Scenery—Table Mountain—Crowds of natives—Cape Town—Departure from—General remarks on the coast—Cape Lagullas—Proposed Lighthouse on it — Different routes to the eastward — Mozambique Channel — Orders to proceed through it — Cleared for Port Essington — More "mystery" — Tremendous gale in the Mozambique Channel — Serious accident — The vessel begins to split in two — Wheel carried away—Weather moderates — Port Natal—Dangerous state of the vessel —Temporary repairs—Gale increases—Cape Vidal— Iron plates continue to split—Almost hopeless condition—Exertions of the crew—Moderation of the gale — Providential Escape—Anchors in smooth water 42

CHAPTER IV.

Anchors off Cape Inyache—Delagoa Bay — Slave Settlement of the Portuguese—English River—Alarm of the people at the approach of a Steamer—Portuguese Fort—Hostile preparations—Salute—Awkward mistake — Aide-de-camp's Visit — The Governor's civility — Openly encouraging the Slave-trade — Slaver in the River—Parsee Merchant as interpreter — Poisonous atmosphere — White man dies where the black man thrives — Trade in ivory and gold-dust — Governor afterwards removed for abetting the Slave-trade—Threat—Presents from Governor —Description of English River—The Temby—Dundas—And Mattoll — Character of the country and origin of pestilence — Native tribes in the neighbourhood — Hollontontes — Thievish propensities — Nemesis hauled on shore — Plague of locusts — Sky darkened by them—Came by a North-east and went away by a South-west wind — Native feast of locusts—Dance and song . . . 63

CHAPTER V.

Repairs commenced — Description of the accident — Plans — Mode in which a recurrence of it is prevented — Description of the repairs — Completed in twelve days — Curiosity of the Native Chiefs at Delagoa Bay—Annual visit to the Governor—Trading speculations in slaves and ivory—Bad feeling between the natives and the Portuguese—Horrible tale of cruelty — Natives flogged to death — A Chief with seven hundred men visits the settlement—Curious costumes—Native war-dance—

Violent excitement and gestures — A warrior's speech — Passions of the savage—Tattooing the face—Savage tortures—Cutting the hair into ornaments — Native Chief and his Wife on board the Nemesis—Great preparations—The King's fool—Plays the Pan-pipes—Description of the Queen—African standard of Beauty—Mass of iron a mine of wealth—Present of the King's arms . . . 75

CHAPTER VI.

Story of distressed seamen on the Coast of Africa—American schooner wrecked—Pestilence among the crew—Attempt to reach Delagoa Bay by land—Joined by natives—Treachery—Quarrel—A white man killed—Two savages killed — Cannibalism — Roasting the captain — Horrible situation—Escape of the survivor—Hides himself in the bush—Is discovered — Natives promise to eat him for supper — Give him food to keep him alive, supposed to be human flesh — Escapes by night — rejoins the schooner—Party proceeds to Delagoa Bay—Rescue in boats—Two of the men enter on board the Nemesis—Harsh treatment of native women by the Portuguese — Interesting tale — Nemesis ready for sea — Excursion up the river—Three branches — Dundas—Buffaloes—Zebras —Native birds — Herds of Hippopotami—Appearance and habits—Fine sport—Difficulty of killing—Manner in which the natives hunt them—Traps—Return of party — Governor's grand entertainment — Dance of native women—Native chiefs the great abettors of the slave-trade 90

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Delagoa Bay — Uncertainty of the Compasses — Arrival at Mozambique—No danger from lightning to iron vessels—Alarm of slave-traders—Measures of the governor—Determined to put down the trade—Visit to the Nemesis—Description of Mozambique—Remarks on its inhabitants—Slave-dealing — Curious law — Coal found—Future advantages — Best place of call on the coast — Arrival at the Comoro islands—Johanna—Character of its inhabitants . 106

CHAPTER VIII.

Comoro Islands — Sultan Alloué—His father Abdallah—Treaties for suppression of the Slave-trade — Faithful to their engagements — Sufferings — Former presents from the East India Company — Queen of Madagascar — Her cruelty — Missionaries put to death — Persecutions

— Chiefs take refuge in Johanna — Story of Raymanytek — Double dealing — Secret traffic in slaves — Remonstrances produce rebellion — Arms his followers and slaves — The Sultan, being pressed, applies for assistance to the English — Arms sent from the Cape — Emissaries arrive at the Mauritius — Correspondence of Sultan Alloué — Intrigues of the slave-traders — Difficulties increase — Sultan applies for aid to Calcutta — Arrival of the Nemesis at Johanna — Critical moment — Interview — The Sultan's inquiries — Excursions into the interior — Aspect of the island — Entertainment at the palace — Sultan superintends the "cuisine" — Another entertainment — Ladies of the court — Conference on public affairs — Sultan's distress — Application to Raymanytek — Danger averted — English flag hoisted — Departure of the Nemesis 129

CHAPTER IX.

The Maldive Archipelago — Island of Feawar — Trade with India — Arrival at Ceylon — "Mystery" at an end — Notices of the Island — Columbo — Fishing boats — Curious contrivance — Departure — Penang — Spice productions — The "Gem of the East" — Picturesque character — Projected naval depôt — Singapore — Advantageous position for commerce — Importance of free ports — Increase of trade — Chinese population — A colonizing people — Aspect of town — Departure — Pedra Branca — Its dangers — Good site for Lighthouse to the memory of Horsburgh — Monsoons — Island of Manilla — Spanish Colonies — Lieu-chew Islands — Basil Hall's description — Arrival of the Nemesis at Macao — Surprise of the People — Visit to the Governor — Joins the squadron under the Honourable George Elliot at the mouth of the Canton river 151

CHAPTER X.

General review of events which preceded the arrival of the Nemesis — Origin of our difficulties — Lord Napier — Captain Elliot — 1838 — Execution of criminals — Chinese mob — Foreigners unprotected — Notices by Captain Elliot against the opium trade — Remarks thereon — Resources of China — Political crisis at Pekin — Movement — Party in China — Led by the Empress — Her ability, attractions, and power — Her fall, and death — Revival of old prejudices — Hatred of foreigners called "Patriotism" — Stringent measures against opium — Lectures of the Emperor — Death of the Emperor's son — Official smugglers —

Opium-mania — Revulsion of feeling against it — Persecutions — The traffic still thrives — Mode of smuggling — Arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton — His character — Contrasted with that of Keshen and Elliot—Governor Tang — His character — His son a smuggler — Suspicions of Lin 174

CHAPTER XI.

Trade in opium almost stopped before Lin's arrival — Lin is said to be the people's friend—And the foreigner's enemy—His energy—Demands what arms the foreigners possess at Canton — Threatens to set the "mob" upon them—Calls for the surrender of the opium, both in the inner and outer waters — Offers a bond for signature — Prohibition to leave Canton or Whampoa — His impatience — Emperor's orders — Concession of one demand produces another — Threats — No English vessel of war to protect the English — Insult at the "Bogue" — Elliot demands passports for the English — Is a prisoner at Canton — Lin's triumph — Expected arrival of American ships of war — Provisions refused to foreigners — Demand for opium received — Bond signed by the foreign community — Opium to be delivered up, under conditions — Lin surprised at his own success — Breaks his own agreement — Sixteen gentlemen detained — Destruction of the opium at the Bogue — Captain Elliot sends intelligence to Calcutta and Bombay — Captain Elliot prohibits trade—Lin's irritation — Loses his revenue from it—Wishes the English to trade, in spite of the order — Drives the English out of Macao — And threatens to poison them at Hong Kong — Unable to control his own people — Arrival of the Volage—Notice of blockade—Chinese yield — Hyacinth and Volage attacked by Chinese war-junks — Occurrences at Macao — Captain Smith's proceedings — Lin's sham fight at the Bogue—Arrival of Rear-Admiral Honourable George Elliot, with reinforcements 193

CHAPTER XII.

Canton river, description of, below the Bogue—"Outer waters"—Lintao—Capsingmoon passage—Urmston's Bay — Force assembled in China in 1840 — Rewards offered for its destruction — Rear-Admiral Honourable G. Elliot and Captain Elliot, joint-plenipotentiaries — Squadron moves to the northward — Expedition to the Peiho — Hostility of the authorities at Amoy — Refusal to receive Lord Palmerston's letter at Ningpo — Blockade of the coast—First capture of Chusan—Plenipoten-

tiaries at Tientsin—Answer from the Emperor — Keshen sent down to supersede Lin—Truce at Chusan—Flag of truce fired at from Chuenpee —Keshen's arrival at Canton—Sir Gordon Bremer becomes commander-in-chief — General review of occurrences in 1840 — Threatened attack upon the English at Macao — Decisive measures of Captain Smith — Attack on the barrier—Order in council—Remarks on hostility of the Chinese—Kidnapping—General alarm at our proceedings—Preparations for hostilities on both sides — Nemesis at the Bogue — Description of Chuenpee, and of the defences of the Bogue—Tiger Island . 217

CHAPTER XIII.

Keshen's negociations — Gains courage as he gains time — General remarks — Influence and character of the Empress — Emperor's eulogy of her—Agitation in China — Heu Naetze's memorial — Reference to Tang and his colleagues—Predictions of a former Emperor—Memorials on the opposite side—Choo Tsun and Heu Kew—Reformation of morals — Death and funeral of the Empress — Character of the present emperor—Ascended the throne in 1820—Observations—Further remarks on the character of Lin — English books translated for him — His letters to the Queen of England — Character of his successor, Keshen — An astute and polished courtier — Severity of his punishment — Commencement of 1841 — Hostilities — Attack on Chuenpee and Tycocktow, on the 7th of January — Details of forces engaged — Remarks on the action — Services of the Nemesis — Sufferings of the wounded Chinese—Burnt by ignition of their own clothes . 242

CHAPTER XIV.

Destruction of Chinese squadron in Anson's Bay—Nemesis and boats —Description of Chinese position — River at the bottom of the bay — Explosion of a junk — Chinese trying to escape — Junks abandoned and set on fire — Nemesis proceeds up the river — Captures two more junks at a town — Killed and wounded on the 7th January — Number of guns taken—Admiral Kwan loses his button of rank — New Chinese boarding-nettings — Novel application — Description of new kinds of war-junks—With English guns—Wheeled boats — Orders of the Emperor to build ships on European models—Official report of the actions to the Emperor by Keshen—Degradation of Admiral Kwan—New plans to destroy the English ships—Preparations to attack the Bogue forts—Disappointment — Truce — Cession of Hong Kong—Restoration of the

forts — Remarks on Captain Elliot's measures — Troops ordered to withdraw from Chusan 268

CHAPTER XV.

Conference between Keshen and Captain Elliot at the second bar—Keshen sensible of his own weakness—But driven to extremities by orders from Pekin—Preparations for the conference—Nemesis the first steamer which ever passed the Bogue—Arrival of a French Corvette—Salute from the Bogue forts—Tiger Island—Aspect of the Canton river—Pagodas—Arrival at place of conference—Guard of marines—Hong merchants arrive, but not admitted to an audience—Captain Elliot and suite received by Keshen—Entertainment—Keshen inspects the marines—Private conference between the high functionaries—Nothing definitely settled—Captain Elliot dines with the Prefect of Canton—Keshen does not return his visit in person—Nemesis returns to Hong Kong—Keshen's report to the emperor of this meeting — Is superseded — Appointment of three commissioners in his place—Suspicious circumstances—Elliot demands explanation—Proceeds to the Bogue in the Nemesis—Second interview with Keshen — Curious facts — Delay of ten days agreed to — Remarks thereon—Force unwillingly resorted to—Preparations for defence still continue at the Bogue—Suspicions of Captain Elliot and Sir G. Bremer—Nemesis sent to the Bogue with the treaty—Waits four days without any answer—Reconnoissance by Captain Hall—Discovery that Chuenpee was an island—Also Tycocktow—Boat fired at from Wantung—Nemesis returns to Macao without the treaty—Sir G. Bremer orders our forces to move up to the Bogue—Intercepted despatches from Keshen to Admiral Kwan . . . 292

CHAPTER XVI.

Keshen's description of the "outer-waters" and of the Bogue Forts—His report to the Emperor of the inefficiency of the defences, and doubtful character of the people—No hope of victory—Begs the Emperor to grant Captain Elliot's requests—Is degraded — Advanced squadron at the Bogue — Captain Elliot waits there one hour in the Nemesis — No communication — Junks captured—First hostile act on our side — Chinese fired first shot — Nemesis and boats under Captain Herbert destroy a masked battery at the bottom of Anson's Bay — Proceed up the river to the back of Anunghoy—Fort and rafts destroyed—The Commodore joins at the Bogue with three line-of-battle

ships — Description of the Bogue Forts — Chain and rafts—Preparations for the attack—Howitzer-battery, erected in the night on South Wantung, covered by the Nemesis—Disposition of our forces—26th February, 1841—Capture of the Bogue—Simultaneous attack on Anunghoy and North Wantung—Dead calm—Wantung shelled by howitzers —Troops land on Wantung—Marines under Sir Le Fleming Senhouse take possession of Anunghoy — Chinese refuse quarter — Attempts to save them—Capture of Little Tycocktow under Lieutenant Maitland—Number of Chinese prisoners killed and wounded—Admiral Kwan killed by bayonet-wound in his breast — Total number of guns captured—Blockade of river raised 319

CHAPTER XVII.

General alarm caused by the fall of the Bogue forts—Removal of the great chain—The light squadron under Captain Herbert proceed up the river—Remarks on the latter—Whampoa—Junk Island—Channels of the river unknown—Policy of the Chinese—Nemesis leads up, giving the soundings—Approach to the first bar—Description of the fort and raft —English ship, the Cambridge, purchased by the Chinese—War junks —Nemesis begins the action at the first bar—Madagascar follows—Sulphur and the rest of the squadron arrive—Marines and seamen land under Captain Herbert—Fort taken—Attack upon the Cambridge—Lieutenant Watson drags a boat across the raft—And with Captain Hall and others boards the Cambridge—Description of the vessel—Ordered to be blown up—Captain Elliot's coolness and courage—Nemesis and boats proceed up to Junk river—Boats of the Wellesley and Sulphur—Fort captured—Sir Gordon Bremer joins from the Bogue—Howqua's folly—Prefect of Canton arrives—Truce for three days—Arrival of Sir Hugh Gough from India, 2nd of March—Force arrives from Chusan—Nemesis dicovers a passage into the Broadway river—Captain Elliot's reward for a pilot—Truce expires—Panic at Canton—Captain Elliot's proclamation to the Chinese 345

CHAPTER XVIII.

Expiration of the truce—Napier's Fort—Rafts across the river—Preparations for its capture—Sulphur—And Nemesis—Chinese abandon the fort—Nemesis returns down Fiddler's Reach—New works of the Chinese — Scenery of the river — Operations again suspended — Sir Hugh Gough returns to Wantung—Keshen leaves Canton for Pekin

in disgrace — Chinese hostility — Notices by Captain Elliot—Expedition up the Broadway or Inner Passage under Captain Scott—Nemesis with boats of Samarang and Atalanta—Entrance to the Inner Passage —Nemesis attacks Motow — Capture of Tei-yat-kok — War-junks in sight—Stone Fort, and river staked across (Houchung) — Field-work (Tei-shu-kok) — War-junks destroyed — Pass through large town (Heong Shan)—Apathy of the people—Masked battery—Sheong Chap —Narrowness of the channel —Kong-How Battery — River staked across — Mode of removing the piles — Assistance volunteered by the peasantry — Military station destroyed — Custom House and war-junk fired — Tam-chow — Military station at Tsenei destroyed with war-junks, &c.—Channel leading into the river at Second Bar—Nemesis joins the advanced squadron at Whampoa—Reflections—Remarks on the Ladrones—Fishermen turn smugglers and pirates . . 371

CHAPTER XIX.

Capture of the Macao fort, on the 13th of March—Advanced ships only two miles from Canton—Nemesis proceeds towards Canton with a flag of truce — Letter to the Imperial Commissioner — Is fired at from the Birdsnest Fort—Preparations to resent the insult—Captain Elliot's communications —Want of interpreters—Attack upon the defences of Canton on the 18th of March, 1841—Flotilla of men-of-war's boats—Flotilla of Chinese boats—Forts in the Macao passage carried — War junks dispersed—Boats destroyed—Captain Elliot with a flag of truce on board the Nemesis—Fired at by the Chinese—British flag planted upon the factory—Notifications by Captain Elliot—Temporary settlement—Trade opened 402

CHAPTER XX.

Suspension of hostilities—Rumours of preparations—Sir G. Bremer leaves for Calcutta—Captain Elliot's assurances—Proclamation of the Prefect—Captain Elliot's address to the people of Canton—New passports issued — Captain Elliot's measures against the opium trade — Report of Keshen's punishment — Its severity — Accusations against him—The Emperor threatens to put himself at the head of his army —Arrival of troops at Canton — Projects for destroying our ships—Utility of iron steamers — Expedition to Amoy suspended — Troops prepare to advance upon Canton, under Sir Hugh Gough — Captain

Elliot returns to the factory with Mrs. Elliot — Afraid to remain — Warnings to the merchants — Anxious moments — Treachery — Foreigners leave Canton — Ominous suspense — Night of the attack by the Chinese 422

APPENDIX.

Mohilla and Johanna—Additional Observations . 447

Further remarks respecting the Equipment of the Nemesis 449

Nominal List of Officers who served on board the Nemesis, during the period referred to in this work . . . 450

ERRATA.

Page 5, line 24, for merchant steamer, read private steamer.

Page 9, for Airey, read Airy.

Page 17, bottom, for western side, read *near* the Loo Rock.

Page 168, 169, for Pedro Branco, read Pedra Branca.

Page 170, near the bottom. The Lieu-chew islands here referred to are not the same islands which were visited by Captain Basil Hall. The latter are situated much further to the northward.

Page 221, bottom, for Mosson, read Mason.

Page 225, *probably* it should be *three* millions instead of *thirty*.

Page 256, for Trentsin, read Tientsin.

Page 289, in the heading, for China, read Chusan.

VOYAGES AND SERVICES

OF

THE NEMESIS.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks — First visit of a British Admiral to China — Difficulties—Disturbance at Canton—Preparations in England—Iron Steam Vessels to be tried—Nemesis, the first of the kind which crossed the Line — England's "Iron Walls"—Description of the Nemesis — Her peculiarities—Moveable Keels—Correction of the Compasses— Professor Airey's method — Nemesis leaves Liverpool — Accident against a rock through errors of the Compasses — Leak stopped — Proceed to Portsmouth—Recent improvements—Clears out for Odessa —Departure from Portsmouth—Public curiosity—Mystery concerning her—First night at sea—Cape Finisterre—Island of Madeira— Rapid change from winter to summer—Approach to the island — Harbour of Funchal—Coaling a Steamer.

Many of the circumstances connected with the progress and conclusion of the late events in China must be still so fresh in the memory of the reader, that it will require but little effort to carry back his recollection to the close of the year 1839, and the commencement of 1840. Public attention was at that time beginning

would be in rivers and along the coasts, attention was particularly directed to the fitting out of armed vessels, which should be peculiarly adapted for that particular service. Iron, as a material for ship-building, had been already tried, and found to answer; and this was considered an extremely favourable opportunity for testing the advantages or otherwise of iron steam-vessels; and the numerous rivers along the coast of China, hitherto very imperfectly known, and almost totally unsurveyed, presented an admirable field for these experiments. If successful there, it might be readily inferred that their utility in the fine rivers and along the shores of Hindostan, and other portions of the Company's territories, would be demonstrated, and by degrees a very powerful steam fleet would become an invaluable addition to the already vast resources of the Indian government.

Orders were therefore given for the immediate building of several stout iron steamers, to be constructed with peculiar reference to their employment in river navigation. They were all to be adequately armed and manned, and no reasonable expense was to be spared in fitting them out in a manner best adapted to the particular object sought to be attained by them. No iron steamer had ever yet crossed the Line, and visited the southern hemisphere; their qualities, therefore, remained yet to be tested in the stormy seas about Southern Africa; and various questions respecting the errors of the compasses, the effects of lightning, &c., upon vessels of this description, remained still imperfectly solved, particularly in reference to those tropical regions, where the great phenomena of nature are exhibited in a more

intense and dangerous degree. In fact, no experience had yet been gained of their capabilities for the performance of long and perilous voyages; and it was a bold conception which suggested that they should be sent round the Cape, to the eastward, in the very worst season of the year, when even the stoutest and largest *wooden ships* trust themselves as little as possible in that stormy region.

The equipment and destination of the Nemesis, however, was kept a profound secret, except to those who were personally concerned in it, and even they (with the exception of the authorities) had little notion of the precise service upon which she was to be employed. Whatever may have been the reasons of this extraordinary secrecy, it only served, as is usually the case, to make all the world more anxious to penetrate the veil. Conjectures were numerous, some partially correct, some strangely improbable, and all equally uncertain. While some asserted that she was destined to root out the slave-trade, others imagined she was just as likely to be employed for the purpose of carrying on this very traffic with greater efficiency.

The Nemesis was at length finished, and sent to sea as a *merchant steamer*, although heavily armed; but she was never commissioned under the articles of war, although commanded principally by officers belonging to the Royal Navy; neither was she classed among the ships of the regular navy of the East India Company. In short, the Nemesis was equipped under very peculiar circumstances, which, together with the novelty of her construction, caused her to become an object of

very general interest. The "*wooden* walls" of England had, in fact, been so long identified with her proudest recollections, and had constituted for so many centuries her national "boast," that it seemed an almost *unnational* innovation to attempt to build them of iron. Indeed, it was rather looked upon as one of the dangerous experiments of modern days. Moreover, as the *floating* property of wood, without reference to its shape or fashion, rendered it the most natural material for the construction of ships, so did the *sinking* property of iron make it appear, at first sight, very ill adapted for a similar purpose. It was sometimes forgotten that even wooden ships are composed of wood, iron, and copper together, and that the bulkiness of these necessary materials greatly diminishes the buoyancy of the wood.

A minute and scientific description of the structure of the Nemesis will be found in the United Service Journal for May, 1840, and it will therefore be sufficient, in this place, merely to notice one or two peculiarities, in which it differs from that of wooden ships in general. With the exception of the great paddle-beams, across the ship, and the *planks* of the deck and the cabin-fittings, together with one or two other parts, the names of which would be only intelligible to the scientific reader, the whole vessel was built of iron.

Credit is due to Mr. Laird, of the Birkenhead Iron Works, Liverpool, for the admirable manner in which she was constructed, and for the elegance of her form and model, which fully answered every purpose required of her.

Her burden was about 700 tons, and her engines of 120-horse power, constructed by Messrs. Forrester and Co., also of Liverpool; and with twelve days' supply of coals, together with water and provisions for four months, and stores of all sorts for two years, with duplicate machinery, &c., and all her armament complete, her mean load draught of water was only *six feet*. But commonly, in actual service, she drew little more than five feet. Her length over all was 184 feet, her breadth 29 feet, and her depth 11 feet. Her keel-plate was laid, and the vessel built and launched, in the short space of three months.

Strictly speaking, the Nemesis has no fixed keel, but the lower plate of iron, which connects the two sides of the ship together along its middle, is called the keel-plate. She is, therefore, almost perfectly flat-bottomed; and, in order to obviate, as much as possible, the disadvantages attendant upon this peculiar construction, there are two sliding or moveable keels, capable of being raised, or lowered to the depth of five feet below the bottom of the vessel. Each of these keels is about seven feet in length, one being placed before and the other abaft the engine-room. They are each enclosed in a narrow case, or tank, one foot wide, running from the bottom of the vessel up to the deck, and which, of course being open below, allows the water to rise in it to the level of the sea on the outside of the vessel. In this the keel, which is of wood, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, works up and down by means of a small windlass, and a strong chain which is attached to it. Thus it is evident, that either the foremost or the aftermost

keel can be raised or lowered, independently of the other, if circumstances require it.

As it would, however, be impossible to steer with accuracy a vessel of this construction with a rudder merely of the ordinary description, and which, from its shallowness, would in a heavy sea be, in a great measure, out of water, there is a contrivance by which a moveable or false rudder is attached to the lower part of the true or fixed rudder, and which descends to the same depth as the two false keels, and, like them, can be raised or lowered at pleasure.

The main or true rudder was composed of wood, but the lower or false rudder was made of iron, and was so constructed as to grasp the lower part of the upper or fixed one firmly on either side, but was bolted through in such a way as to be moveable, as if it were fastened by a hinge, so that, by means of a chain run up to the taffrail from its outer edge, it could be hauled up to any height required.

The next striking peculiarity in the construction of the vessel was, that the entire vessel was divided into seven water-tight compartments, by means of iron bulkheads; so that, in fact, it somewhat resembled a number of iron tanks, cased over, so as to assume the external form of one connected vessel. By this means, the occurrence of any accident, such as striking on a rock, or shot-holes, &c., which might occasion a dangerous leak in one compartment, would have no effect upon any other part of the vessel.

The advantages of this arrangement were often tested during her three years' hard service; and, indeed, within

a few days after her first departure from Liverpool, as will be presently related, this contrivance sufficed to save her from the almost certain destruction which would otherwise have awaited her.

The last peculiarity which I think it necessary here to mention, was the provision of some kind of instrument for counteracting the effect of the local attraction of so large a mass of iron upon the compasses, and for correcting the errors occasioned thereby. This difficulty had been seriously felt by Colonel Chesney, on board the small iron steamers which he had under his orders, during his expedition to the Euphrates; although he was of opinion that the placing of the compasses at a certain height *above* the vessel, so as to be further removed from the sphere of the local attraction of the iron, was sufficient to reduce their errors materially.

Without entering into the merits of Barlow's counteracting plates, or Professor Airey's interesting discoveries, it will be sufficient here to mention, that the Nemesis was fitted with correctors, very much according to the system of Professor Airey, but not under his own superintendence; that the experiments were conducted at Liverpool under every disadvantage, and that the result was never perfectly satisfactory. Indeed, the accident which shortly befel her has been attributed, upon good grounds, principally to the imperfection of her compasses. It is right, however, to mention, that other vessels, such as the Phlegethon and Pluto, which have been fitted with Airey's correctors, tested according to the most approved principles, and after experiments conducted with great atten-

tion, have been totally relieved from this source of danger and anxiety, and have been navigated with perfect accuracy and confidence.

The first accurate experiments on the compass in iron ships were made by Commander Johnson, on the Garry Owen iron steam-ship; but their object was rather the discovery of some part of the ship in which compasses could be used without requiring correction, than any attempt to ascertain an efficient mode of obtaining that correction.

For the investigation of the latter branch of the subject, the world is principally indebted to Mr. Barlow and Mr. Airey; and those who are desirous of studying the subject more deeply are referred to the valuable papers by those gentlemen, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1839.

We may now come to the interesting moment of the departure of the Nemesis from Liverpool, where she was built. Every thing seemed at first to prosper; the weather was favourable, and the machinery perfect in all its parts. She had cleared the narrowest part of the Irish Channel, had passed the coast of Wales, and crossed the entrance to the Bristol Channel; and the course she had been steering would have taken her well clear of the Land's End.

It was now the second day since her departure; the weather was hazy, and no observations had been taken, nor indeed were necessary. As night set in, a careful look-out was kept, and the commander himself was continually on the alert. About two o'clock in the morning, the weather being still hazy and the night

dark, and a leadsman having been already placed in the chains, appearances began to indicate that land must be near.

Her course was immediately altered, and all sail taken in; but scarcely was this manœuvre completed, when she struck heavily on a rock, so much so as to cause a shock to be felt in every part of the vessel.

Of course the engines were instantly stopped, but the *way* she already had on her appeared sufficient to carry her over the reef; and indeed the actual rocks themselves could be seen outside of her, so that she had evidently passed between them and the land, and had merely struck the edge of the reef.

Finding that the vessel did not *hang* upon the reef, and was therefore still afloat, her head was turned to seaward, and the engines kept working slowly, while the dawn was anxiously expected. It was now discovered that the rocks upon which she had struck were aptly enough called "The Stones," lying at the entrance to the bay of St. Ives, in Cornwall, and not very far distant from the Land's End. It was soon evident also, that the accident had occasioned a very serious leak, in one of the foremost compartments of the vessel. It was with difficulty that the water could be kept lower in it than the level of the sea outside, with the hand-pump; and, in fact, if the vessel had not been divided into these water-tight compartments, it is difficult to imagine that the accident would not have been fatal to her.

However, she was carried without much difficulty round the Land's End, into Mount's Bay, where she anchored about three miles from Penzance, off St.

Michael's Mount. The object here was to procure an additional pump, in the hope of being able by that means to empty the tank or compartment, so as to be able to stop the leak from the inside. On shore, however, no such pump was to be procured; but, at length, one perfectly adapted for the purpose was obtained from a small coasting-vessel which was at anchor in the bay. It was an iron one, and has been preserved on board ever since, and on many occasions has been found of the greatest utility. Indeed, no vessel of this description should go to sea without being provided with an extra pump of this kind, to be worked by hand, and at all times ready to be placed into any compartment, as an additional means of pumping it out, and also as a security against fire, for the purpose of pumping water into the vessel, in case of necessity.

With the assistance of this additional pump, the water in the compartment was completely emptied, and then it was discovered that a hole had been cut completely through her bottom by the rock, but could now be easily stopped from the inside.

This being speedily effected, the vessel pursued her voyage without the least difficulty, and came to anchor on the following evening in Yarmouth Roads, on the coast of the Isle of Wight. Before going into Portsmouth to repair her damages, she went on to Southampton, to land one or two persons who had accompanied her round from Liverpool, to try her qualities.

It should here be mentioned, that every compartment of the vessel was provided with a small pipe and cock, by means of which the water could be let out of one

compartment into another, and so passed on, from one to the other, into the engine-room, where it could be pumped out by the machinery. But as this appeared a rather clumsy mode of doing it, namely, by floating nearly half the ship unnecessarily, it was not resorted to. But, in vessels more recently constructed, a great improvement has been introduced in this respect. From each of the compartments a pipe leads directly into the engine-room itself, without communicating with any other part; so that, by means of a cock, the water can at once be pumped out by the engine, or else can be confined to the compartment itself, and pumped out by hand, when it is not desirable to let it flow into the engine-room. This is evidently a great point gained, and gives an immense advantage to iron vessels over wooden ones, particularly steamers.

The necessary repairs were very easily effected, by merely cutting out the injured plates, and riveting new ones in their places; and the whole quantity of material required did not exceed three hundred weight of iron. It is impossible to draw a comparison with the probable expense of repairing a wooden vessel after a similar accident, as it would be difficult to calculate the extent of injury she might have received.

As little time as possible was lost in completing her repairs, and in rendering her in all respects fit to undertake the long and unknown voyage she was about to perform. At length she was cleared out for the Russian port of Odessa, but those who gave themselves time to reflect hardly believed it possible that such could be her destination.

She was armed with two 32-pounder guns, mounted on swivel carriages, for the purpose of throwing either shot or shell, one being placed forward and the other aft, as in all armed steamers. She subsequently, also, carried five long brass 6-pounders, two on each side, and one upon the bridge; and had also ten small iron swivels along the top of her bulwarks, besides boat-guns and small arms. A list of all the officers who served on board her at different periods, during her long service, will be found in the Appendix.

All ulterior arrangements being at length completed at Portsmouth, the usual visits paid, and the thousand little details which precede a departure from England for distant service having been at last satisfactorily settled, the word was given to get under weigh, and those who had so strenuously lent their efforts towards the completion of the Nemesis took their final leave of her, with unlimited confidence in the capabilities of the vessel, and earnest and hearty wishes that her career might be successful and honourable to all concerned.[1]

Three years have now elapsed, and it is but justice at once to declare that every anticipation which could have been formed by the most sanguine of those connected with her, has been more than realized in her adventurous career.

Unusual interest was excited by the expected depar-

[1] Among those who so readily contributed their time and talents to forward the object in view, no one stood more conspicuous than the Secretary to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Mr. Peacock. Likewise to Mr. Blake and others, who so readily lent their services during the detention of the vessel at Portsmouth, the best thanks of all are due.

ture of this strange vessel upon a voyage of which both the purpose and the destination were alike unknown. Even the Admiral himself was ignorant of the service which she was called upon to perform; and it is therefore scarcely a matter of wonder that the visitors should have been numerous, and anxious at the last moment. Suffice it here to record, that the fair and young, the grave and gay, the civilian and the seaman, had all come to take a parting look at this favoured, but as yet *mysterious* vessel.

At length, on the 28th of March, 1840, the last boat had left the ship, and she was fairly gone, and the cheers of parting friends still lingered in the ears of all on board. Away she stood towards St. Helen's, and, boldly as she pursued her course, she found herself alone, and soon was lost to sight.

The haze that gathered round her as the night set in accorded well with the mystery which had clung about her, not only during the progress of her construction, but even when riding gaily among the floating batteries of Portsmouth Harbour.

It is not necessary here to discuss the reasons which may have suggested the expediency of the secrecy which was observed respecting her. Doubtless there were good grounds for what in England, in these "piping times of peace," when war itself actually assumes her name, must have otherwise appeared unaccountable. At last, however, she really had sailed, and for once the world were no wiser about her. The Needle Rocks, the high cliffs at the back of the Isle of Wight, the shores of England herself, had gradually sunk below the horizon,

and the excitement attending departure had at length settled down into the cold reality of a first night at sea.

On the third day, the 30th of March, at daylight, the last glimpse was taken of the land of our birth. The Lizard disappeared, and nothing was around but the wide expanse of the blue ocean. On the gallant vessel went gaily through the Bay of Biscay, at an average rate of seven to eight knots under steam, moving gracefully to the heavy swell which at all times prevails there.

On the 2d of April, five days after leaving England, she was well in sight of Cape Finisterre, the dread of seamen, on the rock-bound coast of Portugal, and encountered a moderate gale of wind (one of those trifles which landsmen are apt to call a terrible storm) directly against her. But our bark behaved nobly; she floated, as sailors say, like a duck, and made head against the gale without difficulty.

On the 6th of April, the lovely island of Madeira came full in sight, the ninth day since she had left Portsmouth, and only the seventh from the Land's End. What a rapid change from the chilly winter of the north, which had been so lately left behind, just verging into dubious spring! How the spirit wakes with new life, as it once more breathes the reviving warmth of the genial South! And if, to the strong and hardy, long used to brave the storm and bid defiance to the wintry blast, it brings this soft refreshing sense of buoyancy and strength, how must it revive the hopes, and feed the failing energies, of the weak and timid invalid, who is so often doomed, as it might seem, to follow this self-same track! And what a blessing is it to him, that what has

so often been dreaded, as the hazardous voyage of weeks, may now be completed by steam in a few days!

At daylight, the little island of Porto Santo having been passed, the full prospect of the larger island of Madeira lay exposed, and between its north-eastern corner, and the little islands called the Desertas, the vessel hastened on towards the delightful harbour of Funchal. Passing close in shore, several little towns were distinctly traced upon the coast, lying close down upon the very bosom of the waters.

Though sailors are seldom poets, there is something in the aspect of this lovely island which speaks poetry to the least poetical; and where nature looks so eloquent, and the fresh green of the loaded vineyard contrasts so beautifully with the wilder rocks above it, while the sun of its scarce-failing summer sheds its glow upon the varied woods around, even the iron Nemesis and her iron-hearted crew were cheered and gladdened, as she glided close along the shore.

After passing the point called Brazen Head, the view of Funchal, the capital of the island, burst suddenly into sight. Its fortifications, its churches, and its numerous convents, form a pleasing contrast with each other. There is something new and un-English about them, and the fine country-houses in the rear, with the rich gardens around, clothed in all the luxury of southern climes, make the sudden change seem more like a dream than the realization of one.

The Nemesis was not long in coming to anchor within the bay, on the western side of the town, and between it and the remarkable rock called the Loo Rock. A

moment's busy stir soon takes place, upon the arrival of any steamer in a quiet spot like Funchal, where little passes to vary the monotony of its every-day life. Although the Nemesis was not a man-of-war, she had all the appearance of one, and as such was regarded with a degree of attention and civility from the port and quarantine boats, not usually accorded to ordinary ships which touch there.

But time was precious, and the great object of her visit was to be accomplished as soon as possible—namely, in the stoker's language, "coaling"—an operation anything but pleasant. But they who would enjoy the steamer's "stately march upon the waters" must be content to purchase it at the price of this necessary evil.

There is something very pleasant in revisiting a place you have long been absent from, and were once happy in, particularly a foreign port, after a cruise at sea. Indeed, it is scarcely possible for those thoroughly to enjoy the pleasures of the shore, who have not made a voyage upon the great waters. Whatever the land may be on which we first set foot after such a voyage, it always presents something new and agreeable. In short, we tread the EARTH again.

CHAPTER II.

Funchal — Excursion into the interior of Madeira — Voyage continued —Princes' Island—Kroomen—Port St. Antonio — Fuel to be obtained there and at Fernando Po—The "Mystery" — Island of St. Thomas's —St. Anne de Chaves the principal town—Productions—Kroomen— Their character —Resemble Abyssinians — Are never slaves—Governor's house—Interview with his Excellency — Black Aide-de-camp— Request not to fire a salute—"Badly off for powder"—Secret trading-place for slaves—Major Sabine's observations—Cross the Line—Experiments with one engine and one boiler — Rudder carried away — New contrivance — Compelled to stand out to sea under sail — Adaptation of a lee-board—Voyage continued—Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.

There is something very peculiar in the appearance of Funchal on your first landing. The surf breaking upon the beach, as the heavy waves roll in, warns you that it is not one of the safest harbours in the world. The boats are backed in stern-foremost, and, before you can step fairly out of them, they must be hauled some way up the beach, when a good spring, with the help of the high sternpost of the native boats, which seems made for the purpose, sets you fairly on the beach.

It commonly occurs that the first objects which meet your eyes, and the first impressions they make on landing at a foreign port, are the most characteristic of the

country. This is the case at Madeira; all is bustle and noise at the landing-place; muleteers and cattle-drivers throng the shore; huge casks of wine are being rolled out of the sledges on which they are brought down from the mountains; the noise and confusion of embarking and disembarking the various cargoes of the boats amidst the surf; and, above all, the peculiar costume and cast of countenance of the people—all these at once mark the place as Funchal, and none other.

Many old faces were now remembered, and even the muleteers, the guides, and the boatmen employed on former visits, recognised their old masters again; and, to ascend from low to high, the governor was most condescending, and even honoured the ship with a personal visit, while the fair ladies were most gracious, and old friends most hospitable.

A delightful excursion was made to an estate belonging to one of the old Portuguese nobles, beautifully situated upon an elevated plain, about seven miles from Funchal. The difference of temperature between the higher and lower parts of the island cannot be less than 12 to 15 degrees, so that great variety of climate is to be found here, according to the elevation of the spot; a circumstance remarkably favourable for invalids. The road towards this fine estate is very characteristic of the island, exhibiting vineyards and gardens, villages and hamlets, ravines and mountains, each in its turn.

Other excursions brought to view richly cultivated valleys, well watered with the winding streams from the mountains above, while the ascent to them, along the narrow paths and craggy steeps, might puzzle almost

any but the native mule to carry his burden safely. Indeed, so delightful is the appearance of the country, so varied are the little excursions that can be made, and, withal, so delicious the climate, that it is probable the island will become more frequented than ever, now that the facilities of steam-navigation are becoming more extensive.

But we have a very long way to travel yet in our friendly Nemesis, and must hasten onward. Accordingly, on the evening of the 8th April, we again accompany the Nemesis, steaming out of the Bay of Funchal, after being detained there only three days. It has been already stated that the vessel was not under the articles of war; this was well known to all the crew, although the majority of her officers belonged to Her Majesty's navy. Even in this early part of her career, the difficulty had been seriously felt; and none but those who have been placed in similar circumstances, as commanding officers, can form any notion of the great forbearance, tact, and judgment which are daily required on their part, in the management of their men. Although not a merchant ship, the Nemesis had to contend with the same wilful neglect of orders, and the same dogged and vexatious conduct on the part of some few of her crew, which is the bane of our merchant service. It therefore says much for the judgment and good management of her officers that they were enabled to keep her at all times, even throughout the war in China, efficiently manned; that she was always ready to go into action, and always came out of it with credit and success.

On the 11th, she passed quietly through the Canary

Islands, between Palma and Teneriffe, the high peak of the latter, however, not being visible, owing to the hazy weather. The Nemesis was now entirely under canvass, and the steam was not got up for twelve or thirteen days after her departure from Madeira. The north-east trade-wind soon carried her smoothly along, as she passed about midway between the Cape de Verd Islands and the coast of Africa, and it was only in a calm, not far from Sierra Leone, that she had occasion to use her engines. She was found to sail remarkably well without steam, although so flat-bottomed.

A breeze again springing up soon after, as she passed about two hundred miles from Cape Palmas, on the deadly coast of Africa, on the 26th, she again trusted entirely to her sails. On approaching nearer to the land, she encountered very heavy and sudden squalls or tornadoes, which she bore remarkably well, shewing excellent qualities as a seaboat, though, as might be expected from her build, making rather more lee-way under canvass than could be wished.

Thus she proceeded quietly along the coast, until she reached the neighbourhood of Cape Formoso, towards which she was set by strong and unusual southerly winds and a lee-current. It was therefore necessary once more to get up her steam, which carried her against a head-wind and pitching sea, in very little more than three days, to Princes' Island, situated near the coast of Africa. This is a settlement belonging to the Portuguese, and the principal place of resort for our cruisers in that quarter, not very far from Fernando Po. She cast anchor in West Bay, Princes' Island, on the even-

ing of the 14th May, forty-four days from England, principally under sail. Here she remained, undergoing a necessary refit, cutting wood for fuel, and preparing for sea, until the evening of the 23rd.

It is the practice here for every English man-of-war, of those stationed on the coast, which resort to the island, to leave a Krooman[1] in her pay, for the purpose of cutting wood for the ship, in readiness for her return. As there are generally several vessels on the coast, so are there also several Kroomen belonging to them, who join together, and go out to cut wood, lending each other mutual assistance. The wood is then brought down to the coast, and stacked in piles, one for each ship, the name of the particular ship being written on it.

As the Nemesis was furnished with a letter from the Admiralty, requiring all Her Majesty's ships to give her every assistance in their power, she was not long in taking on board the whole stock of wood already laid up for the little squadron. Captain Tucker, then commanding the Wolverine, was most active in lending his aid, and even gave up the supply of wood he already had on board. In this way about seventy tons of good hard wood were at last taken on board the Nemesis, and, as plenty of coal still remained, there could be little doubt that, with this reinforcement, she would be able to reach the Cape of Good Hope without difficulty. Water is easily procured in the immediate neighbourhood of the landing-place, of excellent quality; and thus two very important items for the recruiting of a ship

[1] A native African from the so-called Kroo country.

are to be found in abundance in Princes' Island. Pigs, poultry, and goats are to be had in any quantity, as well as yams, Indian corn, coffee, bananas, pineapples, and limes. Above all, the anchorage at Princes' Island is good in all seasons, and of easy access, either by day or night. It is consequently a very valuable place of call for vessels going by the eastern passage to the Cape, which in some seasons is to be preferred to the western route, particularly for steamers.

On the side of the island opposite to West Bay, or the north-east, is the town and harbour of Port St. Antonio, where the governor of the island resides. It is tolerably secure, but confined, and by no means equal to West Bay for shipping. There is a respectable Portuguese merchant there, who is in the habit of supplying the ships at West Bay with various stores that they may require; and, with the view of furnishing all the information which could be procured, in case any other steamer should touch there, application was made to Mr. Carnacro, the reply to which was, that he would supply any quantity, at the rate of one Spanish dollar for every hundred logs;[1] but if they were required to be cut into smaller pieces it would cost more, as negroes would have to be hired for the purpose, at the rate of one dollar a day for every three men. Further, as regarded the time necessary, he thought it would require from thirty to forty days to provide five thousand logs.

Coals were to be had at West Bay, of course imported from England, but only at the enormous rate of about

[1] About one thousand logs make up twenty-two tons and a half of firewood.

£6 sterling per ton. The wood which the Nemesis obtained was extremely good, but, as it was only just cut, it was necessary to burn a small quantity of coal with it. It was found to answer best, and to give most heat, when split into pieces about four or five inches thick, and three feet long; and in this way *half a ton of wood an hour* (a very little coal being used) was sufficient to keep up the full pressure of the steam with six fires.

From Captain Hall's former experience on this coast, he was of opinion that no good wood fit for steamers was to be procured in any quantity, at any of the slave ports on the coast to the southward of the Line, either at Loango Bay or Kabenda, or other places, although the Portuguese at Princes' Island stated the contrary. On falling in, a day or two after leaving that island, with H. M. brig Waterwitch, he was completely borne out in this opinion by her commander, Lieutenant Matson, who stated that, at the places named, the wood was not sufficiently hard and solid for steamers, and was, moreover, *excessively dear*, which is also sufficient to point out that it is not to be had in large quantities. He further agreed that Fernando Po and Princes' Island are the only places on the coast where sufficient good hard wood is to be procured.

The latter island is being greatly benefitted already by the demand for its wood. Land is, in consequence, being cleared and planted, and the coffee grown there is of good quality, and cheap. In fact, from its position and capabilities, it is likely to become a place of greater resort, as steam communication, viâ the Cape of Good Hope, gradually becomes more extended.

It must be mentioned here, that ships sailing much along the coast are pretty sure to get their bottoms covered with large barnacles; and the Nemesis, so far from being exempt from this annoyance, being entirely of iron, was, perhaps, more troubled with them than a coppered ship would have been. The quantity, in fact, was enormous, and they adhered so firmly, that it was with some difficulty they were taken off, commonly bringing away the paint with them. Kroomen belonging to the men-of-war were employed to dive under the ship's bottom for the purpose, and a very curious and amusing scene it was. It is quite astonishing how long these hardy men can remain at work under water, and no light work either. Great, muscular, black, curly-headed fellows, bobbing down under water, some with broomsticks, some with scrapers, and others with bits of iron bar; anything, in short, with which they could attack the tenacious visiters which clung so lovingly to the iron Nemesis. The Kroomen are an active, laborious, and faithful race, as all will testify who have occasion to employ them on the coast. They are received as seamen in our men-of-war upon the station, and, on her return to Calcutta, after long and arduous service, the Nemesis had still two of them remaining on board, out of three who accompanied her from the coast, the other poor fellow having died in the service. They were, of course, sent back to their own country, at the expense of government, according to their original agreement.

At length, on the 22nd of May, all arrangements being completed, the steam was once more got up, boats hoisted in, anchor weighed, and the word "full speed"

being passed below, away went the still mysterious Nemesis, as the sun had just dipped below the horizon; a hearty cheer was given from H. M. S. Wolverine and Viper as she passed, which was heartily responded to by all on board the Nemesis. The unknown service upon which she was employed, and the uncertain conjectures made concerning her, which none but her commander was able, and he unwilling, to clear up, added at all times to the interest she created. In fact, she at last got to be christened "the Mystery," and there inquiry ceased. The efforts made to penetrate the veil were curious enough. When she was about to leave Madeira, people were placed on several high points of land, in order to watch which way she went; and it afforded some amusement to the officers on board, to devise means to puzzle them more than ever. On one occasion, it was gravely announced, by way of a hoax, that she was "going to look for a passage between the Niger and the Nile, and help to civilize the Africans."

While we have thus been retracing our steps a little, we have left our recruited steamer standing away from Princes' Island, on the evening of the 23rd of May. Her course would necessarily lead her towards the island of St. Thomas's, another Portuguese settlement, lying as nearly as possible under the Line, and, therefore, scarcely a day's voyage from Princes' Island. She accordingly approached it on the following afternoon, and did not lose the opportunity of entering the Bay of Chaves, where lies the principal town called St. Anne de Chaves.

Some parts of this small island are very pretty and

picturesque; others are wild and thickly wooded. It produces large quantities of fruit and vegetables, but is principally valuable on account of the excellence of its coffee, which, however, is not cultivated in very large quantity. St. Anne, the principal town, lies at the bottom of a lovely bay. The greater part of the inhabitants of St. Anne are Kroomen or negroes, but of a much superior class to those we generally understand by the term negro. They are tall, athletic men, very industrious, (in this respect different from most other Africans) intelligent, and, when well treated, faithful and honest. All the Kroomen are strongly attached to the English, and willingly serve on board our ships, making very good seamen. The three men who volunteered to serve on board the Nemesis proved themselves useful and trustworthy, courageous, and attached to their officers. They have great faith in an Englishman's word, and, to whatever part of the world they may be carried, they always feel confident of being sent back to their own country free of expense, whenever their services are no longer required. They are an independent people, and have never been connected with slave-dealers, whom, indeed, they seem to hold in great contempt. Nevertheless, they have the woolly hair and thick lips and nose of the true negro. Of all the Africans whom I have seen, they appear most to resemble the Abyssinians in their character and habits, though improved by more frequent contact with our countrymen.

The governor's house is the best in the place, and is distinguished from the more humble ones around it by

the luxury of a green verandah. Across the entrance to the principal apartment, a large curtain or screen of drapery was hung, richly emblazoned with the arms of Portugal, and almost the only real token of her power.

It was naturally a matter of curiosity to visit his Excellency in state, and, accordingly, the officers were ushered into the *presence* by a grand master of the ceremonies, who was also commandant of the island. This person was a huge black negro, "richly caparisoned" for the occasion, and, as he spoke a little English, he proceeded, immediately after the presentation, to expound to his Excellency the object of the visit. That object was, first, of course, to pay respect to so distinguished an officer, and next, to ascertain whether, in case a steamer should happen to touch there at any other time, a depôt for coal could be formed on the island, and whether wood could be procured for fuel, and a proper place provided for storing it until required. His Excellency condescended to be extremely polite, saying that both these matters could be accomplished, and that he should be happy to lend his assistance in any manner he could. He added that he perfectly well remembered that the Enterprize, a wooden steamer, had touched there on her way to India many years before, but that he had never till now heard of an *iron* one.

The interview was soon ended, and was so far perfectly satisfactory. But, as the officers were on the way down to the ship again, the black master of the ceremonies, aide-de-camp, commandant, &c., made a particular request that no salute should be fired, for

that they happened to be " very badly off for powder " themselves, and should find it inconvenient to be obliged to return it: probably a gentle hint that a little powder would be acceptable.

Little time could be devoted to the further examination of the island, which would seem to be of very small value to its masters. There is reason, however, to believe, that, to a certain degree, although unacknowledged and in secret, it is made use of as a sort of intermediate trading-place for slaves.

It was on this island that the distinguished Major Sabine conducted his scientific and interesting observations upon the swinging of the pendulum in 1822, as it lies as nearly as possible under the Line.

With a sun always vertical, no refreshing change of seasons can here be known; there is even monotony in splendour; the glorious sun is here omnipotent: his rays are fire; his smiles, that clothe the earth in luxuries, and make all nature tempting in her riches, are scorching arrows to her earthly master, Man; and one dull round of glaring summer scarcely tempts his heart to gratitude.

On the following morning, the 25th, the Nemesis crossed the Line, with the thermometer at 96°, which had been the average temperature for several days. Strong adverse winds prevailed, with a heavy swell for many days afterwards, against which she went ahead very steadily, at the rate of five to five and a half knots an hour; but, as it was desirable to save fuel as much as possible, it was at length determined to make a hitherto untried experiment, viz., to work the lee paddle-

wheel only, while under sail, (the other wheel being disconnected, and allowed to revolve by the motion of the vessel); and also to use only one boiler. The weather had moderated, but still the engineers were of opinion that the experiment would fail, because they had neither seen nor heard of its having been attempted. It was, however, determined to give it a fair trial, and, accordingly, the weather-wheel was disconnected, all sail put upon the ship, and her course slightly altered. She was steered about five and a half points from the wind, and in this position, with a rolling sea and steady breeze, she continued to make head at the rate of six and a half to seven knots an hour; the active or lee paddle-wheel making twelve to fifteen revolutions per minute. Thus the success of the trial was complete, particularly as it appeared to counteract the *lee-way* of the vessel. The helm did not seem to be materially affected by the unequal force applied to the two sides of the vessel; and, as regards the weather, it is reported in the ship's log to have been "cloudy, with fresh breezes, and a heavy swell."

Some pains have been taken to ascertain from the officers and the chief engineer, first, whether *both* engines could be worked to any good purpose with one boiler.

In reply to this question, it appears that, except in the river Mersey at Liverpool, with all circumstances particularly favourable, the Nemesis was never able to work both engines with one boiler, with more than very inconsiderable effect. But it must be very evident that any vessel, having power enough to do so in case

of emergency, must possess a great advantage; and there is little doubt that, with twenty or thirty horse-power more, she would have been able to accomplish it in smooth water, particularly with sails set. It is, therefore, to be regretted that her power (only one hundred and twenty horse) was scarcely sufficient for her size and weight.

It is known to all that, where two engines are at work, the one helps the other, their movements being so arranged, that the one shall act with its greatest power at the moment when the other is acting with its smallest, and thus their motions are uniform.

Not to dwell too long upon this matter, it may suffice here to mention that, when the vessel was under sail in moderate weather, it answered perfectly well to work only *one* engine, (and, of course, only one boiler) either with two wheels or one, but that it was preferable to use only *one* wheel (that on the lee-side) with the one engine. It is very certain, however, that, when the sea is heavy, both engines and both wheels must be used, because, as the vessel rolls, each wheel becomes alternately immersed deeply in the water, and, if only one engine were used, (either with both wheels or one) a sea might catch the wheel at the moment when it is acted on with least power (just over the centre) by the single engine, and thus the wheel would be stopped altogether for the moment; and this, indeed, was found to be the case. Nevertheless, as before stated, in moderate weather, and with a tolerable breeze, one engine and one wheel can be used with the best possible effect, and with great saving of fuel.

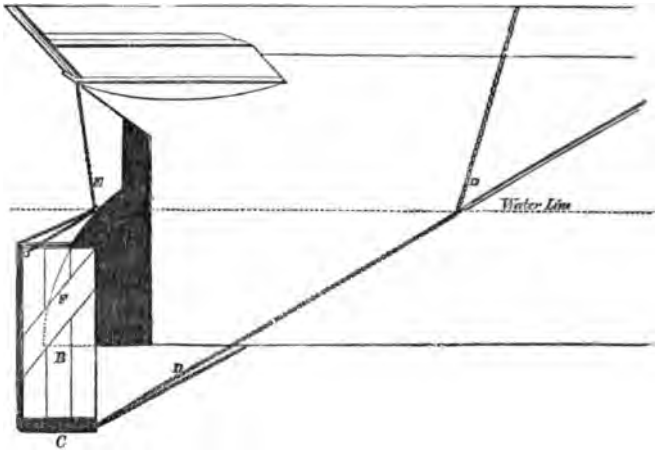
In the instance above referred to, the Nemesis was working in the manner I have described, at the rate of five and a half to six and a half, and for a short time at seven and a half, knots an hour, against a swell from the southward. Some days afterwards it fell quite calm, and she was then tried with *both* wheels and *one* boiler; but she scarcely gained even steerage-way through the water, so that both boilers and both engines were once more made use of. A great many experiments of this kind were made during the voyage; but the details of them would be unfitted for a narrative of this nature. It may be added, however, that the use of one wheel nd one engine is applicable when beating on a wind in tolerable weather; but, where the wind is *abaft* the beam and moderate, both wheels can very advantageously be used with one engine.

On the 2nd of June, the ship all at once seemed to be lost to the control of the helmsman, and, no other very good reason suggesting itself, the rudder was naturally examined with care. It was at once discovered that the drop or false rudder had been carried away, but by what means did not sufficiently appear; except that, on examination, there was reason to think it must have been fairly worn through at the point of junction with the lower edge of the upper or true rudder; for, at this part, nearly the whole strain of its action operated.

No time was to be lost in attempting to repair this injury, as the vessel became almost unmanageable, the true rudder at times being nearly above water, in the heavy pitching of the ship. With the utmost exertion on the part of the officers and the intelligent carpenter

of the ship, a temporary false rudder was constructed, and securely fixed before nightfall. It was moreover found to act even better than the original one, having more hold in the water, as well as a larger surface of attachment to the upper rudder. Subjoined is a plan of this contrivance, which will almost suffice to explain its ingenuity. It was made of planks of wood, instead of solid iron, and was secured by chains, in such a manner as to grasp the upper or true rudder firmly, while it could also be raised or lowered at pleasure.

PLAN OF A TEMPORARY RUDDER, FITTED AND SHIPPED AT SEA, ON BOARD THE H. C. STEAM-VESSEL NEMESIS.



A Main rudder.
B Side view of temporary rudder, made double (out of six floats) so as to clasp the main rudder on each side.
C Pigs of ballast between the floats, resting on the heel-piece.
D Lower chain guys, which pass round the heel of the rudder, crossing it at the fore part, and leading up on each quarter, with a tackle attached to each side.
E Chain-head guys, passing through bolts in the main rudder, and set up over the stern.
F Strengthening pieces of iron.

The whole apparatus was found to answer remarkably well, and, during the remainder of the voyage to the

Cape (and that a trying one), it never got out of order, or required additional support. Indeed, it was remarked by every one, that the vessel was more easily steered than it had been before; and it was evident that the original false rudder of iron had been neither strong enough, nor had sufficient hold of the upper one to which it was fastened.

But the difficulties which the Nemesis had to encounter were not yet ended. Strong breezes from the southward still prevailed, without any prospect of a speedy change; her progress was slow, and there only remained on board thirty-two tons of coal, with a little wood; nor was there any place at hand to which she could run for fuel. It was therefore resolved to stand boldly out to sea, trusting to her canvass only. Thus her remaining fuel would be reserved for any emergency, and would suffice to ensure her being able to get into port when within a reasonable distance. A reference to the map will show her position at this time.

The engines were now stopped, some of the float-boards of the wheels taken off, and every preparation made for an encounter with the ocean. As much sail was set as she could carry, and her course was altered according to the wind. Away stood the fearless Nemesis, disdaining the land, and boldly venturing out to dare the stormy seas of those regions, in the depth of winter. Anxiety to hasten on to the scene of active operations induced her commander to try the only remaining chance of making a tolerable passage; and confidence in his own resources, in case of difficulty, made him bold and restless. The heavy winds from the

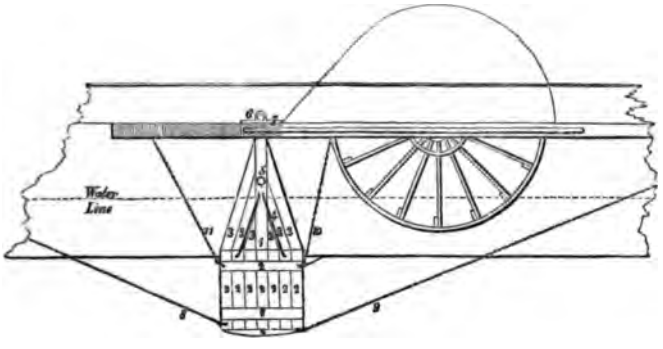
southward, which had so long prevailed, had baffled all the usual calculations. He had himself, as well as his chief officer, spent several years upon the coast of Africa, yet neither of them had ever before witnessed such weather. Could it have been foreseen, it is probable that the western route, by Rio Janeiro, which is the one more usually chosen by sailing vessels, would have been preferred: but, under present circumstances, there remained no other resource but the one they adopted; unless, indeed, they had run all the way back to St. Helena for fuel, which would have caused far greater delay.

On the first day of their standing away, it became more than ever apparent, that, being very light, and in fact scarcely drawing five feet and a half of water, as she was really flat-bottomed, the vessel fell so much to leeward that she made very little progress on a wind and in a heavy sea; and, in short, that her deep moveable keels were far from sufficient to counteract this tendency. It therefore became of the utmost importance to endeavour to invent some additional means of remedying this inconvenience.

Calling to mind his former experience on the coast of Holland, and remembering the great advantage which the flat-bottomed Dutch vessels derive from the use of their lee-boards, when sailing in light winds or close hauled, with a head sea, it occurred to the commander that something of a similar kind might be adopted on the present occasion. The officers all concurred in this suggestion, and, when all are animated with the same cordial and enterprising spirit, few things are found to

be so difficult as they at first appear. It is the mutual reliance upon each other, in the moment of difficulty, which enables British seamen boldly and successfully to brave many perils, which a moment's doubt or hesitation might render insurmountable.

PLAN OF A LEE-BOARD USED ON BOARD THE NEMESIS.



1 Main piece, made of birch, 4 inches by 12.
2 Nine floats, 7 ft. 8 in. long, 11 in. broad, and 2½ thick.
3 Two-inch plank.
4 Iron braces, 1½ in. thick, to strengthen it.
5 Ring-bolt to get it in and out with.
6 Beam covered with iron, for lee-board to work on.
7 Iron clamp, extending 2 feet, ½ in. thick.
8 After-guy, for tricing up.
9 Fore-ditto, to steady heel.
10, 11 } Upper guys.

N.B. The chain guys were all set up with a rope and tackle.

The above wood-cut will sufficiently explain the nature of the contrivance adopted on this occasion, without the assistance of minute and tedious description. It is only necessary to remark, that, in addition to the four chains which are seen in the plan, a fifth was found necessary, to keep the lee-board close to the side of the vessel. It was secured to the lower end of the lee-board at its centre, and, having then been carried across the vessel's bottom, was fastened to the opposite side by a rope and tackle. The whole con-

trivance appears to have been very cleverly managed, and much ingenuity was shown by the mechanics, in adapting the means at hand to the necessities of the moment.

Thus equipped, the Nemesis proceeded on her voyage, and was found to derive great assistance from this new contrivance. It was found that her lee-way was reduced *fully one half*, as ascertained by careful observation. As there appeared such decided evidence of the utility of a lee-board of this description, it is probable that hereafter all steamers having a light draught of water, and being very flat-bottomed, particularly if bound on distant voyages, will be provided with something of this kind, so that it may be shipped on or off, as required.

Another remark, perhaps worthy of being attended to, suggested itself on this occasion, and it has been frequently confirmed since—namely, that no steamer, constructed according to the model of the Nemesis, should be sent to sea upon a long and uncertain voyage, without having a *fixed keel* running the whole way fore and aft, and bolted strongly through her bottom. This would be found of the greatest possible utility at sea, and it could be easily taken off, and the moveable keels put on whenever the vessel were employed upon a coast or in river navigation.

It may further be questionable, in the event of a smaller steamer being intended to be sent out, whether it would not be both safer and less expensive to send it *in pieces*, and have it put together by the mechanics and engineers belonging to it, at the place where it might be destined for use, than to send it ready equip-

ped, to make its own way to its destination by steam and canvass, with all the necessary risk.

We will now once more pursue our voyage. The south-east trade-wind, which for several days before had brought a heavy swell, and the strong breezes of which had gradually broken up into squalls and rain, now left the vessel entirely, and terminated in a calm somewhat suddenly, on the 14th June, in about latitude 26° 16′ S., and longitude 0° 41′ E. It was therefore necessary once more to resort to steam. She was still a thousand miles from the Cape; but, fortunately, a light breeze springing up on the following day, she again trusted herself to canvass only.

Gradually the breeze freshened on the subsequent days, until, at last, about the 18th, it amounted to a moderate gale, with that high and heavy sea which all who have visited the Cape will long remember; threatening, every now and then, to break on board, or poop the ship: but the steady little vessel rose to it like a swan, and never shipped one heavy or dangerous sea.

Confidence in all her qualities daily increased, and, with a strong breeze on the quarter, she was now sailing under canvass only, at the rate of eight to nine and a half knots an hour. The lee-board was found at all times useful in making the ship stanch under sail; but, as it was constructed in haste, and only with such materials as were at hand, it required to be repaired and strengthened several times.

On the 20th June, in about 36° 54′ S.L. and 11° 20′ E.L., the wind suddenly veered round to the southward again, and a strong current was found to be setting

dead against her, at the rate of nearly forty miles a day; it was therefore deemed necessary again to stand away a little more, although her distance from the Cape at that time was less than three hundred and fifty miles.

The resolution to stand away to the westward, on the 21st, seems to have been the only judicious course; for, at that time, there was little probability of her being able to reach even Saldanha Bay, which is near the Cape, against the swell and strong current; while, had she been carried to leeward of that point, there would have been no chance of her reaching the Cape at that season of the year, without first running up to St. Helena for coals. Had she even made Saldanha Bay, no fuel would have been procured there.

At length, on the 29th, being still two hundred and thirty miles from the Cape, but well down to the southward, and it appearing that there was sufficient fuel left to carry her into port, the steam was for the last time got up. On the morning of the 1st July, the remarkable land of the Table Mountain, and the conical peak to the southward of it, were well in sight. The Nemesis had made a long and tiresome voyage in the most unfavourable season of the year, and the anxiety which had been shared by all on board may well be conceived. The dangers of the Cape, at that time of year, have not been exaggerated; and, indeed, none but small vessels venture into Table Bay at all. From her small draught of water, the Nemesis might come under this class, particularly as her steam would at all times give her an advantage over other vessels. On the 1st July, much to the astonishment of every one at Cape Town, she

was descried, late in the evening, quietly steaming into Table Bay.

After all her trials upon this her first voyage, the Nemesis had suffered as yet no material injury. Every part of her machinery was in perfect order; but, having exhausted all her fuel, and the greater part of her water and provisions, she was now only drawing about four feet and a half water; her mean immersion, on leaving England, having been six feet. She had been ninety-five days on the voyage, principally owing to the unusual weather she had encountered.

CHAPTER III.

Table Bay — In the Winter months — Nemesis visited by the Governor —Curiosity of the people at an iron vessel — Trip round the Bay — Scenery — Table Mountain — Crowds of natives—Cape Town — Departure from—General remarks on the coast—Cape Lagullas—Proposed Lighthouse on it — Different routes to the eastward — Mozambique Channel — Orders to proceed through it — Cleared for Port Essington — More "mystery" — Tremendous gale in the Mozambique Channel — Serious accident — The vessel begins to split in two — Wheel carried away — Weather moderates — Port Natal — Dangerous state of the vessel—Temporary repairs—Gale increases—Cape Vidal — Iron plates continue to split — Almost hopeless condition — Exertions of the crew — Moderation of the gale — Providential escape — Anchors in smooth water.

During the winter season, few vessels, and those only of light burden, venture into Table Bay, exposed as it is to the full fury of the north-west gales. Men-of-war, and the few large merchant-vessels which have occasion to touch at the Cape, prefer running into Simon's Bay, which is on the opposite side of the long tongue of land, or cape, which distinguishes that coast. There they lie securely sheltered; but the distance from Cape Town by land is not less than eighteen miles, the greater part over a heavy, dreary road of white sand. The communication, therefore, is as tedious as the road is unattractive, and Cape Town is little frequented during the winter

months, though the season is in other respects most inviting.

The Nemesis, however, had little cause for fear in Table Bay, her light draught of water enabling her to anchor in a well-sheltered cove, near the new stone jetty, which has recently been constructed. There she lay snug and safe, and ready to recommence the task of coaling. It was almost dreary to behold the dark and gloomy-looking steamer, all alone, or nearly so, within that noble bay. At other seasons, many stately ships, bound to every quarter of the globe, would have been found there. But now, almost alone at anchor, and so near the town, all eyes were turned towards the stranger; and when the curious asked whence she came or whither she was bound, or what the object of her voyage, and why, in such a season, she should tempt the eastern seas, none knew, and none could guess, and "Mystery" was still her name.

On the second day after her arrival, the governor of the colony paid a visit on board, and, as he appeared to take the greatest interest in all that related to her construction and equipment, the steam was got up, and the whole party were carried round the bay, apparently much to their satisfaction and enjoyment. The foremost gun was fired in every position, and with different charges of powder, to shew its power and range; and the interest awakened as to the future destination of the vessel was much increased by what they then witnessed.

Had anything further been wanting to add to the interest of the trip, enough would have been found in the beautiful scenery of the Table Mountain, and the Moun-

tain Lion frowning on the pretty scattered town beneath. Varied by the foliage and the gardens which enliven it, it slopes gradually from the mountain's side towards the bay, looking gay and happy; while two large batteries near the water's edge give promise of protection. Every thing contributed to make the day remembered; and as the Nemesis, returning from her trip, approached the landing-place, thousands came to greet her. To the astonishment of all, she ran in close to the side of the old jetty, where no vessel had ever been seen before. Nothing could exceed the wonder of the people at seeing so long and large a vessel floating alongside their old wooden pier, usually frequented only by boats. It created quite an excitement in quiet Cape Town, and the steady, sober-thinking Dutchmen could hardly bring themselves to believe that iron would float at all, and still less with such astonishing buoyancy.

Scarcely had the governor and his suite landed, when hundreds, one might almost say thousands, of curious people crowded on board. The report that an iron steamer was lying close to the town had spread so fast, and had excited so much curiosity, that even the sick made it an excuse for an airing; and such a motley crowd of people of every caste and colour as gathered round the vessel is rarely to be met with elsewhere. The negro, the Hottentot, the Caffir, and the Malay, with all the intermediate shades of colour, hastened down with idle curiosity; while the respectable Europeans and colonists, young and old, were admitted on board, and seemed delighted to gaze on something new.

As it was desirable that as much coal as possible

should be taken on board before the vessel was cor
to haul off, owing to the falling of the tide, no time
lost in commencing the troublesome process. E
did not at all deter the visiters, who continued
ceed each other in crowds, in spite of the inconvenience
they suffered. By the active assistance of the agents of the vessel, and the hire of an immense number of coolies, no less than one hundred tons of coal were put on board in little less than three hours, though, of course, not properly stowed away. A great saving was thus made of boat-hire and other expenses, which would have been incurred in sending the coal out to her proper anchorage.

Several repairs were now to be made with all expedition. The drop, or false rudder, was first to be restored, and required to be much strengthened. This was a very essential matter; and a suggestion now occurred worth noticing, namely, that in the event of other vessels of the same description being sent to sea, they should be provided with some means of being able completely to choke the rudder temporarily, or prevent its action altogether, while at sea, in case of its being found requisite to repair the drop-rudder. The want of some means of keeping the rudder stationary while repairing it at sea was frequently felt, and something might easily be provided to effect this object.

It was also found requisite to strengthen (technically to "fish") both the lower masts, which were originally scarcely stout enough for the size of the vessel, at all events during the Cape gales, though the spars were good, and have stood firmly ever since. The decks were also to be caulked throughout, and, with other less im-

portant repairs, the whole delay at the Cape amounted to nine clear days.

On the 11th July, all being completed, she once more stood out of Table Bay, with the cheers and hearty good wishes of all for her success, although they wondered what her mysterious destination could be. Night was now fast setting in; and, while the Nemesis is standing away from the bay, and shaping her course for the night well down towards the southward, we will pause to make a few observations, which will render her subsequent proceedings more easily understood.

Generally speaking, among those who have occasion to sail to the eastward of the Cape, or to touch there, the appellation of Cape of Good Hope is made to apply to Cape Town and Table Bay, in which it is situated. But, strictly speaking, the Cape of Good Hope is the extremity of a peninsula, and distant upwards of thirty miles from Cape Town to the southward. It is the terminating promontory of the south-western extremity of Africa, and completely shuts in a deep bay on its eastern side, called False Bay, at the bottom of which is Simon's Bay. About two miles farther to the southward lies the low rock not inappropriately called the Bellows, which might also be very aptly named the Blowhard, for Æolus himself could hardly have chosen a more appropriate place upon which to plant his throne.

Scarcely have you rounded this point, which in the present instance was passed at the distance of only four or five miles, than, proceeding gradually to the eastward, you soon come to a headland, ominously named Danger Point, and thence to Lagullas, the southernmost point

of the great continent of Africa, about thirty leagues distant from the Cape of Good Hope. The land about it is rather low, but may be seen at the distance of several leagues, while an isolated hill, at a little distance from it, called the Gunner's Coin, may be distinguished much further off, and is used as a landmark for ships passing far out at sea. The extensive bank of sand and mud which runs out from it towards the south-east is not readily forgotten by those who have had occasion to experience the disagreeable pitching sea which rolls heavily upon it. Frightful accidents to shipping have sometimes occurred in these parts; and the want of a lighthouse upon the Cape was so severely felt, that it was resolved, at a public meeting held for the purpose at Cape Town, to collect subscriptions from all quarters and all countries, for the purpose of placing a beacon-light upon a point of so much importance to the mariners of every nation. Happily, in the eleventh hour, it is said the government stepped forward, and, taking upon itself the task which the benevolence of private individuals had so generously proposed to accomplish, added one more laurel to the wreath which the greatest maritime nation claims to wear. In the present instance, the route of the Nemesis lay about six or seven miles from this point; and, on the 14th, having got well to the eastward of it, she once more trusted to her sails alone, and the engines were allowed to rest.

Now it is evident that a steamer bound to Singapore, or to any place still further eastward, would have a choice of three routes; either she might make her passage from Table Bay towards the Straits of Sunda,

between the islands of Java and Sumatra, trusting principally to her sails, the winds being generally strong in those latitudes, and thereby saving her fuel; or she might run from the Cape up to the Mauritius, to take in coal, which has been done by many steamers, and thence proceed by the Straits of Malacca; or, lastly, she might run through the Mozambique Channel, between the Continent of Africa and the island of Madagascar, and, touching at Ceylon for coals, proceed likewise down the Straits of Malacca to her destination.

On the present occasion, the Nemesis had distinct orders to choose the latter route, the season of the year being considered the most favourable for it, and it being thought desirable that a visit should be paid to the island of Johanna, the most frequented of the groupe called the Comoro Islands, situated at the northern end of the Mozambique Channel. This island will be more particularly alluded to in its proper place. Thence she was to proceed direct to Ceylon for coals. But even this was only known to her commander; and all that either officers or men could learn about her destination, when they left the Cape, was that they were at once to proceed through the Mozambique Channel, but with what object they knew not.

It is rather remarkable that a ship's company should have been kept so well together, considering that they had not the slightest intimation of what their ultimate destination was to be, though fully armed and equipped for any service. Indeed, as if to make the "mystery" more complete, the vessel, on clearing out from Table Bay, had been announced as bound for Port Essington,

a scarcely heard-of settlement, then in its earliest infancy, upon the northern coast of New Holland; — a most improbable destination.

Let us, however, now pass on without delay to one of the most eventful periods of her history. Six days had scarcely passed since her departure from the Cape, when a new and quite unforeseen danger awaited her, and it rapidly increased, without any port being at hand for refuge. It has very rarely happened that a ship has been so near destruction, and yet escaped at last. The first few days of her passage alternated between gales and calms; and the high sea which she encountered only gave her a further opportunity of proving the good qualities which she possessed as a sea-boat. Cape Francis, on the southern side of the coast of Africa, within the colony, near Algoa Bay, was in sight from the mast-head on the 14th. The barometer began to fall on the 15th, and at length, on the following day, had almost sunk to twenty-eight inches. Vivid flashes of lightning now ran along the sky to the westward; the wind, which had been strong and steady from the N.N.W., freshened to a heavy gale; every appearance threatened an increase rather than a diminution of the storm; and the sea became so high and heavy, that it threatened every moment to overwhelm the *long, low* Nemesis; for the sail that could be put upon her scarcely sufficed to keep her before the sea.

The float-boards had been taken off the wheels before the gale commenced, and she had continued under canvass ever since. Algoa Bay had been passed long before the weather had become so threatening; to

return to it was now impossible; the gale went on increasing, the sea rose fearfully, and the ship's course was slightly altered, so as to carry her further away from the land. Her danger even at this time was great, as she lay so low upon the sea, which heaved its convulsive waves high above her.

In the night, or rather about three o'clock in the morning of the 17th, a tremendous sea at length struck her upon the larboard quarter. Her whole frame quivered with the blow; and so violent was the shock, that the first impression of all on board was, that the ship had been actually riven asunder. The violence of the blow made her broach to the sea and wind; but, happily, she was got before it again as speedily as possible. It was no time to hesitate, or to be idle; every man was on deck, ready and anxious to use his best exertions; and it is in such moments of trial that the true British seaman shows the hardy, oaken stuff of which he is made.

As daylight dawned, the injuries which the vessel had received were soon discovered. The starboard paddle-wheel had been seriously damaged; in fact, a considerable portion of it had been nearly carried away, and only hung by a very small attachment, by which it was then dragging through the water.

Scarcely had the necessary means been adopted to save this portion of the wheel, when another and more serious injury was found to have happened to the body of the ship itself. An immense perpendicular crack was discovered on both sides of the vessel, just before the after paddle or sponson beam, extending almost

entirely through the second iron plate from
and also through a small portion of the up
These had been broken asunder with such violen
at the worst point of the injury, the plate ha
outwards in such a manner, that one portio
broken surface projected to the extent of ab it
inches, leaving a most formidable opening in the sh
side. In reality, the ship had begun to separate an
ships, from one side to the other. There was ev
probability, too, that the crack, which at this time
nearly two feet and a half in length, would ra
extend itself by the working of the ship, unless
weather moderated very speedily. There was eve
cause for alarm, and little prospect of being able, e
temporarily, to repair so serious an injury in the t
state of the weather.

It was evident that the broken paddle-wheel could not long hold together, and scarcely any one thought it possible to save the broken portion of it from being lost. But a little ingenuity, stimulated by the necessity of the moment, often suggests the most effectual contrivances, which are, after all, the most simple. The great object was to secure it temporary in some way or other; so that, as soon as the rim became completely broken through, the mass might hang suspended by some other means from the ship's side. The vessel was rolling heavily, so that there was little chance of being able to pass a rope round it; but the ingenious thought quickly suggested itself, that one of the large boat-anchors would make a capital fish-hook for the purpose. With this, one of the arms was at last caught hold of,

and supported, until the rim was completely torn through; and then, by means of a stout tackle, the large broken portion of the wheel was, with some difficulty, hauled on board.

So far there had been good fortune in the midst of trouble, for, had this portion of the wheel been entirely lost, there is good reason to fear, as will presently be seen, that with only one wheel, which might also have easily become injured, the unfortunate Nemesis would very probably have been unable to outlive the still worse weather which she afterwards encountered, and would have scarcely reached a port, even in a sinking state.

And here we may make two observations. First, that the practice of taking off the float-boards under sail, which, in some steamers, is made a regular exercise for the men, at all times materially weakens the paddle-wheel, particularly in a heavy sea, and may endanger it altogether. Secondly, that an additional paddle-ring, running round the centre of the paddle-arms, and tying them together, contributes very much to the strength of the wheel; and further, that the paddle-centre should never be made of cast iron. It is the most important part of the whole wheel, and should have the utmost strength, which wrought iron alone can give it. It should here be mentioned, that even on this occasion eight only, out of the sixteen float-boards, had been removed, otherwise very probably still more serious damage would have happened. In order to provide against the recurrence of any similar accident, orders were subsequently given, to prepare several small bars of iron, which were to be screwed on in the place of

every *second* float-board removed; so t t, if float-boards were taken off, four small bars be put on in their places. Thus the whe lose its proper support and connection. I experience which had now been gained, it ra afterwards thought expedient to take the float-boa off at all, and certainly only in smooth water, and v every appearance of s weather.[1] The portion the paddle-wheel which had been torn away on occasion comprised n than six of the pa arms, or about two-fif of the entire circumference the wheel. This lar mass of iron could not weighed less than fifteen to sixteen cwt.

On the following day, the 18th, the weather moderated considerably, and the vessel proceeded, with t help of one wheel only, at the rate of about four knots an hour. In the mean time, every possible effort was used to get the broken wheel repaired; and, in the short space of three days after the accident, the broken portion was got over the vessel's side with extraordinary labour, and was ultimately secured by bolts in its original place.

On the 20th, she passed within forty miles of Port Natal (become so famous as the place the eminent Dutch farmers, from the Cape Colony, have attempted to make independent.) But there was little chance of being able to make the necessary repairs in such a

[1] It should be remarked, that the engines of the Nemesis were not fitted with the improved apparatus for disconnecting the shaft, which has now become in frequent use. The operation was, consequently, tedious and inconvenient.

place. As the weather had now moderated, although there was still a heavy sea, it was thought better to continue her voyage; as, in case of need, she would have Delagoa Bay, belonging to the Portuguese, to take shelter in. There she would be certain of finding good anchorage, and a convenient place to lay the vessel on shore, to ascertain the real extent of the damage she had sustained. But she was not permitted even now to reach the port without encountering other dangers; and it seemed almost as if the elements conspired to make her voyage hazardous and uncertain, beyond what is usually experienced.

The dangerous condition of the vessel, after the iron plates on both sides had begun to open, could be concealed from none on board; but, as long as the weather was moderate, there appeared little doubt of her being able to reach Delagoa Bay without very great risk of foundering. On the following day, however, the 21st, the wind again began to freshen from the north-east, an unusual quarter at that time of the year. Again the mighty sea arose, and damped the reviving hopes of all, and the heavy cross swell could be looked on only with deep alarm.

Gradually, the opening in the ship's sides, which hitherto had been sufficiently limited to cause her to take in but little water, began to extend itself in an alarming manner. Indeed, it was impossible to guess where it would stop, or how any efficient means could be adopted to check it. Both sides were so bad that it was difficult to say which was worst. The vessel was evidently *working* amidships, as it is called; or, in other words, it had not only opened up and down, but was

moving in and out from side to side. Moreover, the weather threatened to become rather worse than better; and, to add to the difficulty, the furnace of the larboard boiler was now found to be likewise injured, and, in fact, could scarcely be used at all. Thus it became more and more uncertain whether the engines could be kept working, so as to pump the water out of the hold; to say nothing of urging the vessel along.

Temporary expedients were at once to be resorted to; repairs were wanted at various parts at the same time, and every hand on board was now to be occupied day and night in contriving means to keep the vessel afloat. In short, the danger was so evident, that, from the highest to the lowest, all alike were eager to emulate each other's efforts. The heavy sea which, since the change of wind, had met the full current, and rolled heavily behind the vessel, threatened to break over her every instant. To provide as well as possible against this danger, four breadths of stout plank were secured, as strongly as possible, over the stern and along the quarters, in order to keep the sea out, or at all events to break its force. So heavy was the sea, that at this time the main rudder was sometimes completely out of water, and at the same moment the jib-boom was *under* it.

In the midst of this, with the hope of relieving the strain, by diminishing the top weight at the extremities, the aftermost or large stern gun was with great labour dismounted from its pivot-carriage, and safely deposited in one of the after coal-bunkers; and the bower anchors, which had already been brought in-board, were now dragged further amidships. This eased the ship a little.

But gradually as the day advanced, so did the wind increase, and hourly the sea became more dangerous. It was now running so high, that at times it fairly stopped the engine, and it became necessary for an engineer to stand by constantly, to help to turn it over the centre.

An attempt was, however, made on the 22nd to effect a temporary repair to the ship's sides, which were straining very much. For this purpose, two or three rivets were cut out on each side of the crack in the plates, and a portion of a new iron plate was with difficulty fixed on the outside, upon the worst part, and bolted through into a piece of stout oak plank, placed across it on the inside. The openings had by this time extended downwards *more than three feet and a half*, on both sides of the vessel.

On the evening of the 23rd, the ship was wore round, to try to stand off from the land for the night, but was found to make so much water upon the larboard-tack, that it was impossible to keep her in that position, and the only resource was to stop the engine, and make her lie-to under sail all night. The anxiety of all on board may be imagined, but can scarcely be described; none shrunk from the heavy task of duty, but all felt that their situation was one of extreme danger and uncertainty, though not as yet of despair.

They were, at this time, at no great distance from Cape Vidal; but a tremendous current was setting to the south-west, at the rate of more than fifty miles a day, and helped to throw up a very heavy, dangerous sea. At length the morning dawned once more, and, as the day advanced, the north-east gale had moderated;

and gradually it declined, until, in the aftern
wind changed round towards the south-east.
pairs to the damaged wheel were by this ti
pleted, and although the injury to the ship's s
hourly increasing, the hopes of all on board rea
as they saw the double power of both wheels o e r
at work. But Delagoa Bay, for which they str
still so hard, was not less than two hundred miles distant.
As night closed in again, angry wind began to ho
and burst upon the fa d bark in heavy gusts a
squalls. And all around was dark and solemn, as th
fate which seemed agai to threaten misery and de-
struction.

The only sail she now carried was torn away in shreds,
and the steam itself had little power to stand the fur
of the winds and waves. At length it lulled: again she
moved, and yet again the mighty storm increased, and
with alternate hopes and fears the morning's dawn was
looked for. She heaved and strained most fearfully,
the leaks increased, the *openings spread*, and yet she
floated. 'Twas hoped that, as the day advanced, the
storm would yield; but hour after hour, as it passed,
had brought no sign of change or promise of amend-
ment. Their danger was at this time imminent; but it
became so evident to all that the only chance of safety
lay in using unremitting exertions, and labouring day
and night with hearty good-will, that their very efforts
produced confidence, which, in its turn, redoubled all
their strength. Nevertheless, it seemed as if new dan-
gers were constantly in store.

The gallant vessel still maintained her character as a

good sea-boat. But the leaks continued to increase, her sides strained and opened fearfully, and the apertures had by this time extended upwards completely to the deck, and downwards far below the water-line. As the vessel heaved and rolled from side to side, the broken edges of the iron plates sometimes opened to the extent of an inch, while their lateral motion, as the vessel worked, in the part that had bulged, was frequently not less than *five inches*. As the storm increased, it was found that in the short space of two and a half hours, and in spite of every exertion to strengthen the part, the openings on both sides had further increased in length no less than eighteen inches.

The motion of the vessel, in such a pitching cross sea, was very quick; and every time the sides opened, the rush of wind and water through them was terrific. Luckily, the engines were still able to work, and continued to pump the water out very fast, although the openings were actually close to the engine-room itself. But the dangerous state of the vessel was appalling, not only from the fear of her separating amidships, but from the chance of the bilge-pumps becoming choked, or the fires being put out by the rush of water.

The struggle was evidently to be one for life or death; and who could then forget his God, his home, and all he loved on earth, or hoped in heaven? Yet each one struggled hard for rescue; and, as he strove and worked his utmost, clinging to the bark he hardly thought to save, not one but whispered forth his silent prayer, and felt his strength redoubled. Every man was hard at work, trying all the resources which invention and the

impulse of danger could suggest, to keep the vessel from breaking asunder. And yet so desperate did the attempt appear, that, for one passing moment, it seemed as if their efforts were fruitless, and the courage even of the stoutest heart began to fail. The utmost strength of man appeared powerless to save amid so many trials. She groaned and worked tremendously, and reports were brought in quick succession from different parts of the vessel, that she was fast breaking up in pieces. Many trembled in their hearts, that dared not show their fears, because alarm becomes contagious, and tends to paralyze the strongest arm. But some retired, and for a moment prayed to Him, who only now could save; and others tried to hold their pen, and tell their last and parting tale, yet paused and faltered in the effort.

In this dilemma, it was still necessary to inspire the drooping spirits of the men with some new exertion. The captain tried to smile, and, by a cool, collected manner, sought to awaken hope which in secret he himself could scarcely feel. "You may smile, sir," said one of the sturdiest of the men, a hardy boiler-maker by trade, "but you don't know the nature of iron; how should you!" (as if in pity of his ignorance), and then added, as if for comfort, "Ah, sir, when once it works and cracks, as our sides are doing now, it's sure to go on; nothing can stop it."

However, it was evident that talking about it would not mend the matter, and all that could be said was, "The greater our danger, the more must our exertions be increased to counteract it." And increased they were. Every officer and man set-to again in ear-

nest, to try to keep the ship together; amongst them the chief officer, Lieutenant Pedder, was by no means the least conspicuous, though every officer and man was working with his utmost strength, in every quarter where his services could be most effectual. The captain's voice encouraged while his hand assisted. One party was employed to nail down thick planks and spars upon the deck, fore and aft, over the broken part of the ship; others were busy bolting the ends of them into the sponson-beams, between the paddle-boxes; while another party, engineers and firemen, were busy strengthening the ship's sides below.

To understand this latter part of the condition of affairs, it must be explained that, what in a wooden ship would be called the ribs, are, in an iron one, called the "angle-irons." They are, in fact, strong angular bars, extending up and down the ship's sides like ribs, having a flat surface, to which the plates of iron are bolted. These angle-irons, or ribs, are seventeen inches distant from each other, and at about the centre, between two of them, the crack had taken place in the plates of iron. The accident had occurred precisely in the weakest part of the vessel, amidships; and it would seem proble that, as there was a heavy cross sea in the Mozambique Channel when the misfortune happened, the head of the vessel was held firm in the hollow of one sea at the moment the top of another sea struck her heavily on the quarter. It made her frame quiver; and her length and shallowness rendered her the more liable to suffer injury from a similar blow. The mode in which the permanent repairs were afterwards effected will be ex-

plained in the fifth chapter, p. 78, together with the method by which the recurrence of a similar accident has been provided against in vessels more recently constructed.

As regards the temporary repairs, it was evident that two contrivances were necessary for holding the broken plate together in its proper position: one that would prevent the two broken edges from separating more widely from each other; the other, which would prevent them from overlapping, or crossing one another.

In the first place, small blocks of wood were fixed across between the angle-irons from one to the other, in such a manner that they crossed each other like the letter X, and gave support against the working of the ship, and the tendency of the plates to overlap each other. Next, strong bolts or bars of iron were passed *through* the angle-irons from one to the other, and tightened by means of a nut and screw at their extremities. By these means, the angle-irons, being now strongly connected together, were made to hold the edges of the broken plates in contact between them, which, as long as the bolts held good, would be quite sufficient as a temporary repair. But all these contrivances were adopted with extreme difficulty, and during a gale of wind, when all attempts of the kind appeared desperate. Fortunately, towards morning of the next day, the 26th, the gale slightly moderated; and these repairs being now completed, as well as circumstances would permit, rendered her in all respects stronger, so that she strained much less than before.

By this time the land was not far distant, and the

hopes of those who had most despaired revived again. By degrees the haze began to clear; and now what new sensations crowded in the anxious mind! what thrills of joyous gratitude, as the straining eye first caught the doubtful land! The heavy sea had gradually diminished as the Nemesis approached the coast, and she at length ran into smooth water, near a bold cape. Never was the sound of the running out of a cable after an almost hopeless voyage heard with greater joy than on this occasion. She was now safe at last, and rescued from an almost desperate fate. Congratulations were mutual; and it may well be said that those who toil and share their fears and hopes together become more firmly bound in sympathy and friendship.

CHAPTER IV.

Anchors off Cape Inyache—Delagoa Bay—Slave Settlement of the Portuguese—English River—Alarm of the people at the approach of a Steamer—Portuguese Fort—Hostile preparations—Salute—Awkward mistake—Aide-de-camp's Visit—The Governor's civility—Openly encouraging the Slave-trade—Slaver in the River—Parsee Merchant as interpreter—Poisonous atmosphere—White man dies where the black man thrives—Trade in ivory and gold-dust—Governor afterwards removed for abetting the Slave-trade—Threat—Presents from Governor—Description of English River—The Temby—Dundas—And Mattoll—Character of the country and origin of pestilence—Native tribes in the neighbourhood—Hollontontes—Thievish propensities—Nemesis hauled on shore—Plague of locusts—Sky darkened by them—Came by a North-east and went away by a South-west wind—Native feast of locusts—Dance and song.

The anchorage which the Nemesis had now so providentially reached was situated close to Cape Inyache, at the entrance of Delagoa Bay. This settlement, which still belongs to the Portuguese, was once famous in the annals of slavery, as one of the principal marts in which that revolting traffic was carried on. It is still far from being undeserving of the stigma which attaches to its name, although it has greatly fallen from its once thriving condition. It is situated on the eastern coast of Africa (see map), and at daylight, on the morning of the 27th July, 1840, the Nemesis steamed into the

river which runs into the bay, and is known by the name of English River.

The Portuguese have a small fort near its entrance, from which the approach of the steamer was no sooner discovered than a mighty stir was made. Steamers had scarcely even been heard of, much less seen. The object of her visit none could guess; but all were conscious of partaking more or less in both the sins and the profits of the slave-trade; and, therefore, all regarded the approaching vessel as no friendly visiter. Guns were made to bear, ammunition was got into readiness, and every thing would have looked very formidable had it not been fully known that a single shot from the stern gun of the Nemesis would have made the walls tremble, and the defenders hide themselves.

The Nemesis was uncertain whether her reception would be friendly or otherwise. But she needed assistance, and was determined to obtain all she wanted by friendly civility, if possible; but at any rate she would not be denied. Slowly she passed up beyond the fort, to explore the river, and great was the surprise of all the lookers-on, to see her move so easily through water so shallow that they thought it could scarcely float one of their smallest slavers. The effect of this was advantageous. They had little dreamed that so large a vessel could, if necessary, pursue even the boats of the slavers into their most secret haunts, drawing, as she then did, even less than five feet water, all her fuel being expended.

As she again descended and approached the fort, there was evidently some excitement, as if they doubted

what would happen next. There was no dispo
the part of the Portuguese to act on the offen
they had all the appearance of being willing,
little able, successfully to defend themselves.
occurred a trifling accident, which might have
very serious consequences. The Nemesis was prepa
to fire a salute, intending to unfurl the flag of Port
at the moment the first gun was fired. Unfortunat
however, the flag, instea of throwing itself out v
pulled by the halliards, after being hoisted, stuck fa
the gun was fired, but no flag appeared. This wa
awkward mistake at the moment, but was spe
remedied, and thus the friendly intentions of the
mesis were properly developed, and the salute of hon
very gladly received, and answered by the defenders
the fort, instead of the crash of hostility.

An aide-de-camp soon came on board from the governor of the fort, to inquire whence the vessel came, and what her object might be in visiting such an unfrequented place. This redoubtable man of arms was dressed in all his best finery, but did not seem quite at ease upon the ship's deck, until he had been fully assured of the intentions of the vessel, by the aid of a large glass of good wine, which seemed entirely to satisfy his curiosity. At all events, it was the only mode of communication, as neither he nor any one on board could make each other understood in words.

On the same day, the captain and some of the officers of the Nemesis went on shore, to pay their respects to his Excellency, who affected to be exceedingly glad to see them, and showed them all possible civility and

attention. This was, no doubt, politic on his part, for he had every reason to believe that the Nemesis was a man-of-war, and he also well knew that, had she been so, it would have been a difficult matter for him to exculpate himself from the charge of openly aiding and abetting the slave-trade, which was at that very moment being carried on under his own eyes, and within reach of his own guns. It was, moreover, sanctioned by the very flag flying at the peak of the slavers. Yet the same flag was hoisted on the fort itself, under the stipulations of a treaty, by which its exertions were to be used to prevent the continuance of the horrid traffic in the river. A slaver was, in fact, lying in the river not far from the fort, and, as the steamer was passing up, it was easily observed that the crew were deserting her, and trying to make good their escape, leaving their craft at the mercy of a single boat's crew. But the Nemesis was not a man-of-war, and had no right to capture her; and it was, therefore, more politic not to seem to notice, in the first instance, what was very apparent to all. For this reason, nothing was said to the governor upon the subject, more particularly as the Nemesis required great and willing assistance during the short time she had to remain.

For some time, there was a difficulty in communicating with the governor at all, no one knowing the language; but at length a Parsee merchant was sent for, who could speak Hindostanee as well as Portuguese, and as there was also a man on board who could speak Hindostanee, a regular cross-fire conversation was thus maintained, in a roundabout manner. The Parsee had

an opportunity also of raising himself in the opinion
the other residents, by declaring that, "As to st me
they were nothing new or wonderful to him; he
sooth, had seen something of the world, and, above
had seen plenty of steamers at Bombay." Doubtless,
henceforth became the oracle of the village. One wo
hardly have expected to find a Parsee merchant sett
in such a remote and unhealthy spot as Delagoa B
under the Portuguese government. But where will not
the "auri sacra fames" tempt mankind to court the
smile of Fortune, even with the grin of pestilence and
death before them?

To a traveller in the far east, it has often appeared, "a thing hard to be understood," that countries which abound in the most luxuriant vegetation and the richest soil are rendered almost inaccessible, from the deadly poisons which, at certain seasons, infect their atmosphere. Yet the black man lives and thrives in the very midst of that which only tempts the white man to destruction. "By the sweat of his brow shall man live," and where nature scarcely needs man's labour to entice her into luxury and richness, there shall the white man scarcely dare to sojourn. Such is Delagoa Bay. As a settlement it is of very little use to the Portuguese, of whom very few reside there; and without the stain of slavery it could scarcely linger on. There is, however, a limited trade in ivory and gold-dust, and the coast is frequented by whalers, particularly Americans, who come into the settlement for supplies. The narrative of Captain Owen's survey on the coast gives a melancholy picture of the deadly nature of the climate, which

very few, either of his officers or his men, were fortunate enough to survive.

The fact of a slaver lying under the guns of the fort, and other little evidences that the governor was very backward in carrying out the instructions he had received respecting the slave-trade, went hard with him afterwards. This case was mentioned to the governor of Mozambique, under whose jurisdiction Delagoa Bay is placed, and by whom the deputy-governor is appointed. It will hereafter be seen that *he* was, at all events, sincere and energetic in his efforts to stop the trade. He became excessively angry when the circumstances were stated to him, and declared that it was in violation of his most strict and positive orders, and instantly directed that the deputy-governor should be removed from his post.

The slaver, which was a fine Portuguese brig, was subsequently visited by some of the officers of the Nemesis, and found to be regularly fitted out for the trade, the planks for the slave-deck being all ready, with boilers for their food, and shackles, &c. Her masts and spars were large, and of excellent stuff, and advantage was soon taken of this circumstance to procure some necessary materials for the repairs.

It appeared that there were some excellent timbers lying on the beach, which had probably belonged to some large ship wrecked in the neighbourhood. They were precisely such as would best suit the wants of our vessel; and, as it was stated that they belonged to a Portuguese merchant in the town, inquiry was at once made about the purchase of them. Various excuses, however,

were made, and unnecessary difficulty suggested. was evident that there was a "screw loose" somewh or other, or else that they wished to impose an exo tant price for them. But the Nemesis could not pense with them, as they were strong and perfectly w seasoned. A message was, therefore, immediately se declaring that if the timbers were not given up at a f valuation, *within twenty minutes*, the captain of Nemesis "would go on board the slaver with his men, and take the masts and spars out of *her*, and as they appeared to be exceedingly good ones, they would answer her purpose rather better."

No talisman could have acted more instantaneously than this well-timed threat, which, moreover, would certainly have been put in execution. The whole community, from the governor downwards, were more or less interested in the affair; the report rapidly reached the master of the slaver; his alarm was natural enough, and his reasons for urging the immediate surrender of the timbers sufficiently evident. "Pray give them anything in the world they want," said he; "let me rather pay for it a dozen times over, than keep that strange-looking ship here. She will ruin us altogether; we must get rid of her in any way we can; give her, by all means, every thing she wants, and let her be off, for mercy-sake."

Long before the twenty minutes had expired, the timbers were given up, and that too with such alacrity, that you might almost fancy they really were glad to give you the utmost assistance they could. The governor himself, on the following day, the 29th of July, sent a present of some vegetables and ivory on board, and

afterwards came in person to look at the ship, and was, to all appearance, so pleased with his reception, and doubtless so well impressed with the appearance of the vessel, that he staid to dinner with the officers, and did his best to show himself a good fellow.

So far all went on smoothly enough; and as every preparation had by this time been completed for commencing the repairs of the ship, the few remaining coals taken out of her, the guns put into boats alongside, and all the materials in readiness, the Nemesis was, on the following day, hauled alongside the spot fixed upon as the most eligible for the purpose required.

It may here be observed that the so-called "English River," which empties itself into the sea at Delagoa Bay, is in reality the estuary of three rivers, called the Temby, the Dundas, and the Mattoll. But they are none of them of much importance, considered separately, having their sources at scarcely more than a good day's journey from the entrance, and forming rather the drains of a rich alluvial country, than the outlets of the superabundant waters of distant tiers of mountains. They run into the English River at the distance of little more than five miles above the fort. Their shores are generally bordered by an extensive muddy flat, gradually rising towards higher land, covered with large bushes, but which can hardly be said to be crowned with luxuriant woods. Nothing can be imagined more calculated, under a tropical sun, to produce the most deadly pestilence. No wonder that those who have endeavoured to trace up these rivers, for even a short distance, have so commonly fallen victims to their enthusiasm.

The entrance to English River, from its breadth and

general appearance, leads you to imagine it o
importance than it really is. Yet it is not
something of a picturesque character; the s
covered with calabash trees, and the aspec
village and Portuguese Fort, tottering though it
all present a refreshing picture, when first viewed,
a long and dangerous voyage.

The neighbouring country is divided among diffe
tribes, who are frequently at war with each other,
over whom the Portuguese have very little co
Their own factory, or fort, is situated on the
side of the river, in the country of Mafoomo. But
most warlike and troublesome of all the tribes are
so called Hollontontes, living some distance to
southward, and resembling, or indeed probably a bran
of, the Zooloo Caffirs, of whom we have lately heard so much in connection with the unfortunate Dutch emigrant-farmers at Port Natal. These Hollontontes (probably a corruption from Hottentots) have, on more than one occasion, made themselves formidable, even to the Portuguese themselves.

All the tribes on this coast are known to be both treacherous and thievish; and it was, therefore, not without reason that a request was made to the Portuguese governor, by the captain of the Nemesis, that patrols should be placed at some distance round the spot where the vessel was to be repaired, with orders neither to permit any of the natives to approach the ship, nor any of the people of the ship to stray beyond the line. This answered the double purpose of protection from robbery, and of preventing drunkenness and

quarrelling, owing to the use of the deleterious spirit of the country, from which it would have been otherwise difficult to restrain the men. In this respect, the governor behaved with great consideration, and the guards placed round the Nemesis were found to be of very great service. To stimulate further the exertions of the men to complete the necessary work as expeditiously as possible, they were promised double pay, upon good behaviour, as long as they should be employed in the laborious and unremitting work of completing the essential repairs. On the 31st, she was hauled on shore on the fine sandy beach near the fort, and, in fact, within range of its guns.

It was on this day that a remarkable phenomenon occurred, which is here worth mentioning; the more particularly as it was followed at night and during the subsequent day by a very heavy gale of wind, whose approach it might, in a manner, be said to have indicated. This was, in fact, the seventh[1] great plague of Egypt, the plague of locusts, which filled the atmosphere in myriads, as far as the eye could reach on every side; and indeed much further, for, during the time it lasted, the very sky was darkened, and the whole air was filled with a sound as of "a mighty rushing wind," by the flapping of their wings. You could scarcely open either your eyes or your mouth, without fear of being blinded or choked by them. It became, in fact, a living pestilence, "which covered the whole face of

[1] It will be remembered that the plagues were, frogs; dust turned to lice; swarms of flies; the murrain of beasts; the plague of boils and blanes; the plague of hail, of locusts, and of darkness.

the earth, so that the land was darkened; they all the houses, and all the houses of the servants, a all the houses of the Egyptians [Portuguese]; ve grievous were they; and they did eat every herb of t land, and all the fruit of the trees; and there remain not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of tl field through all the land."—(Exodus, chap. x.)

Fortunately, the visitation did not, in the present instance, last quite long enough to commit such extensive destruction, but it was nevertheless a source of great alarm and inconvenience. In some parts of China, also, the swarms of locusts occasionally produce a great deal of mischief, and are very naturally dreaded, both by the people and the government. But those visitations are not so severe as this was, during the short time it lasted.

In the account given of the Egyptian plague, it is stated "that the locusts were brought by an east wind," and were carried away "by a mighty strong west wind." I was curious to ascertain whether there was any thing worth noting in relation to the state of the wind at Delagoa Bay when the locusts appeared, and when they were carried away again. On referring to the ship's log, I find that the day preceding the appearance of the locusts was one of perfect calm; but the morning of the day on which they came was ushered in by a *north-east wind*, which lasted until the evening, when it changed round to precisely the opposite quarter, namely, to the south-west, and increased on the following day to a strong gale from the same quarter, which carried away all the locusts. Subsequently, it again veered round to

the north-east, and continued so for several days, but brought no more locusts.

Large quantities of locusts were collected by the natives for food; and it was a very curious sight, for two or three days afterwards, to watch the different groupes of black men, as nearly naked as possible, crowding round their fires, with all the eagerness of hunger, and all the longing of an epicure, to enjoy a feast of locusts. They stripped off the wings and legs, and having slightly roasted or grilled them, appeared to find them a capital luxury, even not unworthy of the dance and song with which they accompanied their repast.

CHAPTER V.

Repairs commenced — Description of the accident — Plans — Mode in which a recurrence of it is prevented — Description of the repairs — Completed in twelve days—Curiosity of the Native Chiefs at Delagoa Bay—Annual visit to the Governor—Trading speculations in slaves and ivory—Bad feeling between the natives and the Portuguese — Horrible tale of cruelty — Natives flogged to death — A Chief with seven hundred men visits the settlement—Curious costumes—Native war-dance — Violent excitement and gestures — A warrior's speech — Passions of the savage—Tattooing the face—Savage tortures—Cutting the hair into ornaments — Native Chief and his Wife on board the Nemesis—Great preparations—The King's fool—Plays the Pan-pipes —Description of the Queen—African standard of Beauty—Mass of iron a mine of wealth—Present of the King's arms.

No time was now lost in commencing the repairs of which the steamer stood so much in need. Even at the risk of being tedious, some explanation is necessary. It will be remembered, that the structure of the ship's side has been elsewhere described, and that the angle-irons are, in fact, the ship's ribs. The split amidships had taken place in the middle of the iron plate, between the two angle-irons immediately before the after sponson-beam. It extended downwards full seven feet from the deck on either side the vessel; and, as the distance from the deck to the water-line, with a moderate draught of water, is only from three feet four inches to three feet six inches, it must have extended under water for about the same distance as it did above. But the

whole *semi*-circumference of the vessel's hull is only about twenty-three feet and a half. Therefore, as the crack was full seven feet in length on each side of the ship, there only remained sixteen feet on each side of the ship's hull, or about two-thirds in all, not separated in two. During the night of her greatest danger, before reaching Delagoa Bay, the broken portion of the vessel was principally held together by the long iron bars or bolts, which had been run through the angle-irons from one to the other, assisted by stout spars and planks, nailed on upon the top of the deck, and fastened through into the paddle-beams.

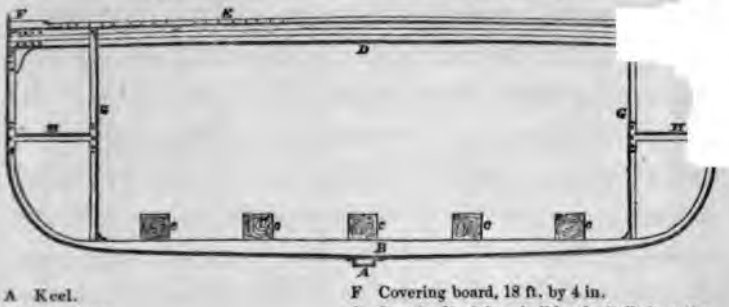
Before this strengthening process had been resorted to, there had been strong symptoms of a disposition to open in the deck. The ends of the planks began to start, and there is reason to believe that, if the several attempts made to hold the vessel together, as above described, had not been ably and rapidly carried into effect, even during a gale of wind, the vessel would have completely separated, and the Nemesis would never have been heard of more.

In other iron vessels more recently constructed by the same builder, Mr. Laird, of Birkenhead, near Liverpool, it is satisfactory to know that full provision has been made against the recurrence of any similar accidents. The Phlegethon, which was afterwards built upon the same model, has been constructed in such a manner, by the addition of bulk-heads, &c., that not only could there be no apprehension of the accident, but an almost impossibility of its recurrence. The accompanying wood-cut will explain the improvement.

IMPROVED IRON STEAMERS.

TRANSVERSE SECTION AT THE ENGINE-ROOM OF H. E. I. COMPANY'S II STEAM VESSEL PHLEGETHON.

Shewing the method of giving additional strength by originally building-in the coal-box bulkheads as part of the vessel.



A Keel.
B Floorings.
C Keelsons.
D Deck beams (iron.)
E Deck.
F Covering board, 18 ft. by 4 in.
G Longitudinal iron bulkheads, built into the vessel, forming the sides of the coal-boxes.
H Angle-iron stay-beam between.
I *Side frame* and coal-box bulkhead.

N.B. These bulkheads appear to have remedied the weakness complained of in the Nemesis, as the Phlegethon is reported, after nearly three years' hard service (including the passage round the Cape, when she experienced very bad weather), in as good order as when she left England, never having required any alteration or strengthening.

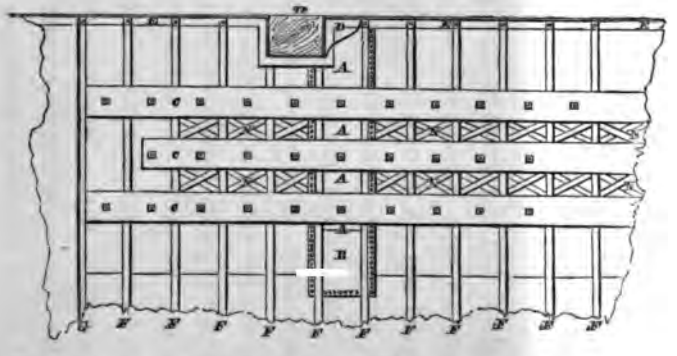
The first thing now to be done was evidently to remove the broken iron plates, and to rivet in new ones in their place. This was accordingly done, with the exception of the bottom one, which was allowed to remain inside, a new one being riveted over it on the outside. (See plan at page 79.) In order to provide for additional strengthening of the vessel inside, the large timbers, which had been purchased, were made use of as being exactly adapted for the purpose. Three of these were placed across the angle-irons against the side of the vessel, the longest and stoutest, which was twenty-three feet in length, one foot broad, and six inches thick, being placed highest up, about two to three feet below the deck. This was secured in its place by bolts, each a foot long, which were run through

the ship's side, one at the centre of the space between each of the angle-irons. As there would, however, be a space left between the face of the beam and the side of the vessel, except at those points where it rested upon the angle-irons, this interval was filled up with well-seasoned red pine, which added very much to the solidity of the contrivance. To "make assurance doubly sure," two other beams, of the same depth and thickness, but not of the same length, and secured in a similar manner, were also employed. By this means, it is very evident that the ship was made a vast deal stronger than she ever was before, though not a bit stronger than was proper for her size and shape. The whole length of the new plates put in the ship's sides was eight feet two inches; and so effectually was the work done, that the whole of it remained perfect, stringers and all, at the end of two years and a half of severe and uninterrupted service.

These contrivances added very little to the weight of the vessel, and gave it very great support in the weakest part, and just where it was most required, to enable her to carry coals on deck, &c. It should here be observed, that the cracks had taken place *within* the coal-bunkers, and that two only of the deck angle-irons, which connect the gunwale and the deck, had given way. With the object of still further strengthening the vessel upon deck, two other stout timbers, twenty-five feet long, were prepared as "water-ways," and were fastened through upon the deck, just along the inside of each paddle-box. They were bolted into the sponson-beams, and were calculated to add materially to the midship strength of the vessel.

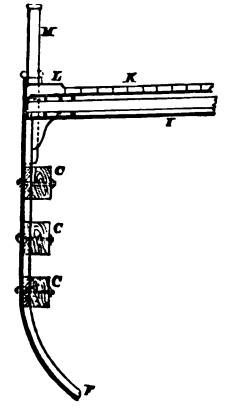
REPAIRS OF THE NEMESIS.

PLAN SHOWING THE SIDE OF THE NEMESIS REPAIRED AND STRENGTHENED BY STRINGERS.



A The old plate cut away between the angle-iron frames.
B Part of the old plate left remaining inside the new.
C Stringers, 1 ft. by 6 in.; the space under them between the angle-irons made solid with wood.
D Knee.
E Deck angle-iron.
F Angle-iron side frames.
G Coal-box bulkhead angle-iron.
H Paddle beam of wood 21 in. by 15.
N Diagonal bracing of wood between the stringers.

END VIEW OF THE STRINGERS, SHOWING ALSO THE SECTION OF THE SHIP'S SIDE.



I Deck beam of iron.
K Flat of deck.
L Covering board, 12 in. by 4 in.
M Waist stanchion.
C Ends of the Stringers.

N.B. Stringers secured by seven-eighths in.: bolts driven through all between each two angle-irons.

Various other minor repairs were also made while so favourable an opportunity offered; in short, a general refit was bestowed upon her.

Numerous large barnacles were again found adhering to the ship's bottom, which required some labour to remove. But, in spite of all the toil and fatigue requisite in such a climate, the recruited Nemesis was ready to be hauled off shore again, and launched into her befitting element, in the short space of twelve days. She was now, in all respects, a stronger vessel than when she originally started upon her voyage. It may be readily supposed that the utmost exertions had been used; and it is highly creditable to all the parties concerned, that the work was performed with so much expedition and efficiency, and entirely by the people belonging to the ship.

During all this period, the Nemesis had been an object of great curiosity to the native Africans, as well as to the Portuguese settlers. The chiefs of some of the tribes were occasionally allowed to look at the vessel, and, naturally enough, expressed the greatest possible astonishment at what they saw. It happened to be just the time of year when the king of one of the tribes most friendly to the Portuguese (probably, as it appeared, because they have large dealings together in slaves) usually came down from his own country, about thirty miles distant, to pay his annual visit to the Portuguese governor. On these occasions, there is a vast attempt on both sides to appear very friendly to each other, with precisely that degree of sincerity which, as a *minimum*, is indispensable to the advantageous barter of slaves and

ivory for iron and spirits, or occasionally gold-dust for various trifling articles, which in the eyes of a savage possess inestimable value.

Alas! the black man sells his fellow-man for IRON with which to shape his spear or point his lance! the white man sells his fellow-man for GOLD, and *bribes* his conscience by the calculation of his gain!

There appears, in general, to be very little good-feeling existing between the native tribes and the Portuguese. The former look upon the latter with some degree of dread, arising from the injuries which they have at various times received at their hands; and the latter regard the former merely as degraded savages, fit for little else than the speculations of the slave-trade. On both sides there is a degree of mistrust, arising from the debasing tendency which such a traffic necessarily exercises upon all concerned in it. In Captain Owen's narrative, an instance is related of the most savage cruelty, exercised by Portuguese Christians upon a few unarmed and oppressed natives who fell into their hands, which it is impossible to read without shuddering. Upwards of a dozen of the natives, who had been reduced to destitution and misery by the ravages of the Hollontontes, took refuge (as they thought) in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese fort. They were immediately arrested upon suspicion of having robbed the governor's garden, although it was known that the Hollontontes, from whom they had themselves suffered, had also committed all kinds of depredations in the neighbourhood. The details of the mode in which these poor creatures were tortured, (this occurred in 1822 or 23) and literally

flogged to death with a thong of bullock-hide, and tortured with thorny bushes all the time if they chanced to faint, and other atrocities, too heart-rending to be here repeated, are such as it is impossible to read without feeling that terrible indeed must be the black man's vengeance, if he once should have the opportunity of exercising it.

On the present occasion, the native chief who came to do honour to the governor was a decrepid old man, nearly seventy years of age, attended by about seven hundred or eight hundred of his most doughty warriors, partially clothed in skins, and ornamented with ostrich-feathers stuck in their heads. He himself, as being a very great man, was clothed in a loose sort of dressing-gown, with a red nightcap on his head, a present from the governor himself. In his own estimation, he was doubtless the perfection of a prince, and his men the very models of warriors; but, in the opinion of every one else, the whole group were excessively fantastical and ridiculous. Every man had three spears of different sizes, probably to be thrown at different distances, together with a stout club and shield; and in the use of these weapons they exhibited great dexterity.

The governor had invited the officers of the ship to go and witness the performance of their war-dance, which was, in reality, as savage an exhibition as it was possible to conceive. They divided themselves into two bodies, one on each side of the square before the governor's house. Upon a signal being given among themselves, seven or eight of them rushed out from either side, spear in hand, with that peculiar and active step

which distinguishes the savage, in the north as well as south of Africa. Judging from the apparent earnestness of their manner, and the threatening of their gestures, you would imagine that they were intently bent upon instantaneous and mutual destruction. They seemed to work themselves up into a real fit of mad fury; and, just at the very moment when you thought that nothing could prevent a ferocious onslaught upon each other, down fell the points of their spears to the ground, as if in mock derision of each other. Away they now ran in full retreat, stooping and holding their shields behind their backs, as if to ward off the expected flight of arrows or spears of their enemies, to whom but a moment before they had presented so bold a front. The spectators all the while kept up a tremendous savage howl, like that of angry beasts, which they themselves dignify by the name of song. When the belligerent parties had retreated as precipitately as their legs could carry them, the heavy clubs were seized by some of the bystanders; and with these they beat the ground, as if to pound the last remnant of their wounded enemies to death.

The old chief, or generalissimo, soon made his way up to the governor's house, attended by some of his relatives, where they were all treated with a glass of grog each. Hereupon, of course, a speech was requisite, in accordance with the practice of more civilized communities. One of these ferocious warriors stood up in the doorway, and delivered himself, with great satisfaction to his own mind, and very little intelligibility to any body else, of a very luminous and probably highly patriotic harangue.

As evening advanced, the rest of the attendants were also called upon to drink the governor's health, out of a large *tubfull* of rum; and, in order to ensure fair play, a corporal stood by with a stout cane in his hand, with which he most courageously belaboured all those who shewed an uncivilized disposition for helping themselves to more than their share. But the passions of the savage are not so easily to be subdued; and, if the mere sight and smell of the liquor had warmed them up into something like a quarrelsome mood, what was to be expected from the actual taste and fire of it? Words ran high, and all the threatening gestures of the excited savage promised even bloodshed; until, at length, the corporal's stick being insufficient to allay the disturbance, he very quietly upset the whole remaining contents of the tub, and soon dispersed the mighty men of war, in apparent reconciliation.

The negro tribes of these parts adopt the practice of tattooing their faces, but not in that peculiarly neat and regular manner for which the New Zealanders are distinguished. It is here more like a rude system of notching the skin, as if done rather to show how manfully they can endure pain, than as a mere ornamental art. It is wonderful to think of the numerous cruel contrivances which are invented by savage tribes, and practised by none so extensively as by some of the North American Indians, to test the fortitude of the young aspirant for distinction, and to try what appalling cruelties the human frame can bear, and bear them willingly, without sinking under the protracted torture.

A more sensible practice among some of the tribes

about Delagoa Bay is that of shaving a large portion of the thick wool off their heads, tending greatly to cleanliness in a tropical country. Occasionally it is trimmed into some fanciful shape, like the old yew-trees in some of our English villages, which stand forth as curious specimens of nature improved; while, again, the natives on some parts of the Madagascar coast, generally stout, athletic men, divide their hair into little tufts all over the head, each of which is frequently tied round the roots, and thus made to stand out on all sides in little knobs, giving a very savage appearance to the head, more particularly when they are seen working side by side, as I have often witnessed at the Mauritius, with close-shaved Indian or Chinese labourers.

As the king above-mentioned and his followers had come from a considerable distance, and were reported to possess great influence among their neighbours, it was thought a good opportunity both to impress them with a knowledge of our power, and to conciliate them by a shew of our good-nature. There was the more reason for this, in consequence of pretty certain evidence having been obtained that the crew of an American trading-vessel, which had been wrecked on the coast not long before, had been most barbarously treated by the tribe into whose hands they fell. As such a misfortune might again happen, it was thought a good opportunity to make an impression upon the native tribes, which was sure to be communicated from one to the other, by means of the old king and his adherents. Accordingly, the old man (who was called Appelli by the Portuguese) was one day invited to go on board the Nemesis, with

one or two of his attendants. The vessel had by this time been got nearly ready for sea, and on this occasion, in order to produce greater effect upon all the lookers-on, was dressed out with her flags, and, being newly-painted, presented a very gay appearance.

Towards noon, preparations were observed to be going on, for the embarkation of the veteran chief. His attendants were all drawn up in line, and appeared to treat him with the utmost respect and deference; which rather bore out the idea that he belonged to an influential race. A Portuguese merchant accompanied him to the ship as interpreter, and, rather unexpectedly, several women also came off with him, dressed in showy colours, and impelled perhaps as much by the flattering thought that they would quite astonish the white man, as by the mere feeling of curiosity about what they could scarcely be expected to comprehend.

The moment the king put his foot upon the deck, the single fife and drum which was on board set up "God save the king!" with highly musical effect; at all events, the old man appeared to think so, being evidently well pleased both with the tune and the attention. After this, a particularly ugly, repulsive-looking fellow, who turned out to be the king's fool, and appeared to have grown no wiser as he grew older, though as old as the king himself, set up a most discordant note of admiration, upon three reeds which he held in his hand, something after the manner of pan-pipes. At intervals he treated you to a sort of explanatory text of his own, in the shape of a few uncouth words, yelled out in a manner particularly edifying to all *except* those in whose honour

it is supposed they were especially poured forth. His appearance was further distinguished by a large uncouth bag tied under his chin, but for what purpose was not very evident, unless to contain either his charms or his tobacco. Perhaps he derived some little private revenue from the former, in ways best known to himself; while with the latter he could at all times soothe and pacify himself, should he not be *fool* enough, or foolishly wise enough, to retain his master's favour.

The queen herself had also accompanied her lord upon this occasion, and exhibited no fear, and certainly no beauty. The king of a nation—at all events of the uncivilized — is supposed to be lord of all, and to be able to choose his wife where he pleases. His majesty on this occasion must have had a very peculiar taste, or else their standard of beauty must be very original. Picture to yourself a young sable queen, a capital caricature of one of the Egyptian statues in black marble, plump and shiny as her prototype, only less expressive. Then invest her in your imagination with sundry huge scars about her cheek and nose; not those delicate lines and graceful curves which decorate the upper lip of royalty among New Zealand tribes, but regular lumps, squeezed up and dried, as it were, into large warts, particularly about the nose, as if a race of gigantic musquitoes had held a feast there!

However, to do justice to the lady's rank, if not to her looks, it was thought proper to show her due attention, and, accordingly, a glass of wine was offered to her, as well as to her lord. The old man, though at first suspicious, like all half-savages, very gladly swal-

lowed it, as soon as one of the officers had tasted it first. But she, "the young, the proud, the beautiful!" —wine was not half good enough for her. But, rum! *that* was the nectar for queens—*that* was the soul-stirring influence which could bend her pride, and warm her heart to gentleness.

Having by this means warmed the royal hearts to good humour, the next thing was to bewilder them with astonishment. This was not difficult. They were requested to examine the ship's side, and to assure themselves that she was made entirely of iron. A loud Heugh! was their exclamation. To them it seemed a boundless mine of wealth, that mass of precious stuff, to purchase which was all their ambition. They were calculating in their own minds how many thousands and tens of thousands of slaves they would have to procure, before they could be able to obtain so much of the valued metal. But, when the engine was shown to them, with all its polished bars, and massive parts, and its uses partly explained through the interpreter, their astonishment knew no bounds. Between surprise and fear, they were half bewildered, and went away fully convinced that if the iron machinery could move along the iron ship through the ocean, it could also destroy all the tribes of Africa with even greater facility.

Before the chief's departure, great care was taken to explain to him the barbarous cruelties which had been committed upon the shipwrecked seamen, by some of the tribes on the coast. He declared that he had never heard of the occurrence, and affected to be very much horrified at it. He was made to understand that he

was to communicate to all the people of his tribe, as well as to all others whom he might fall in with, that, if ever any injury were done to any white men when driven upon any part of the coast, an iron vessel, even more terrible than the one he was then in, would be sent to punish the people. On the contrary, if he conducted himself peaceably, and treated white men well on all occasions, he would be considered the friend of the English, and of all other white men. He was also to make it publicly known, wherever he went, that white men were always to be treated kindly when in distress. This he promised to do, with every appearance of sincerity, and upon the whole showed more intelligence than might have been expected.

In consideration of the king's promises, and in order the more fully to gain his influence, a present was made to him, the most valuable he could have received—namely, a musket and bayonet, with its accoutrements. His surprise and delight were beyond all bounds; he almost seemed to get young again with pleasure, as he grasped the precious weapon in his hands. On leaving the vessel, he insisted on shaking hands with almost every one on board.

On the following day, he returned again to the ship in high glee, bringing with him his own spear and shield, with other implements of war and of the chase. He then laid them at the captain's feet, as the most valuable presents he could offer to a "faithful ally."

CHAPTER VI.

Story of distressed seamen on the Coast of Africa — American schooner wrecked—Pestilence among the crew—Attempt to reach Delagoa Bay by land — Joined by natives — Treachery — Quarrel—A white man killed—Two savages killed — Cannibalism — Roasting the captain — Horrible situation — Escape of the survivor — Hides himself in the bush — Is discovered — Natives promise to eat him for supper — Give him food to keep him alive, supposed to be human flesh — Escapes by night—Rejoins the schooner—Party proceeds to Delagoa Bay—Rescue in boats—Two of the men enter on board the Nemesis — Harsh treatment of native women by the Portuguese—Interesting tale—Nemesis ready for sea—Excursion up the river—Three branches — Dundas—Buffaloes—Zebras—Native birds—Herds of Hippopotami—Appearance and habits—Fine sport—Difficulty of killing—Manner in which the natives hunt them — Traps—Return of party.— Governor's grand entertainment — Dance of native women — Native chiefs the great abettors of the slave-trade.

The circumstances relating to the distressed seamen on the coast, alluded to in the foregoing chapter, were first stated by one of the unfortunate sufferers himself, who accosted, in very good English, some of the officers of the Nemesis, as they were returning to their ship, and soon proved himself to have belonged to an American vessel, but stated that he was a native of Hanover. His name was Samuel Reid, or something very much like it. His right eye and lower jaw appeared to

have been dreadfully wounded, and gave a practical introduction to the following tale, every part of which there is too much reason to believe is strictly true.

It appears that an American schooner, called the Colonel Crockett, of one hundred and forty tons, belonging to Newburgh, U. S., sailed from New York in the summer of 1839, bound on a voyage to the west coast of Africa, to procure bullocks for salting, principally for the St. Helena market. She subsequently, also, proceeded to Madagascar, and touched at Delagoa Bay, on her way to Inhampura River, high up on the east coast, to trade for ivory. There she remained three weeks, without being able to accomplish her object. In working out of it again, in May, 1840, she missed stays, and went on shore on the sand at the river's mouth. They tried in vain to get the vessel off on the following day, there not being enough men fit for work, as all, except three out of eleven, were sick with fever. There she lay, nearly high and dry. It seems they had only one boat remaining, which was too small to contain all the people; and, therefore, it was agreed that the captain and second mate, (Samuel Reid) with two men, should start off in her, and try to reach Delagoa Bay, which was only about seventy miles distant; where they were to procure a larger boat and other assistance, and then return, to bring away the remainder of the crew, and whatever could be saved from the wreck.

Unfortunately, they found the surf beating over the bar at the mouth of the Inhampura so heavily, that they could not succeed in getting the boat out. In this predicament, the captain and second mate volunteered to

set out together, to try to reach Delagoa Bay by land—a most hazardous experiment under any circumstances, with the dangers of the fatal fevers, and the treachery of the savage native tribes, staring them in the face. The attempt was, in fact, almost hopeless. Nevertheless, on the morning of the 9th of May, 1840, they landed from the vessel, totally unarmed, thinking, probably, that it would be both useless and laborious for two men to carry arms which they could scarcely use for more than one or two discharges, owing to the difficulty of carrying ammunition.

They proceeded for about twenty to twenty-five miles on that day, without molestation, but were at length joined by three natives, one of whom left them, under the pretence of going to procure water, while the other two lighted a fire, and began to roast some corn, of which they all partook equally. In the mean time, the native who had been absent returned, bringing with him seven others.

The captain, being anxious to make the most of his time, determined to proceed, although the day was fast declining. But, in order to relieve themselves from the weight of their bags of clothes which they had each brought with them, they entrusted them to the care of the natives who followed. On arriving at the bottom of a steep hill, where there was a picturesque valley, they all halted for the night, and soon made a capital fire. As might have been expected, the curiosity of the natives, to say nothing of their treacherous disposition, could not withstand the temptation of looking into the bags they had carried, to examine their contents. This

was resisted by the captain, who was rather a hasty man; a scuffle ensued, and thus the opportunity the natives sought for was at once afforded them.

Their intentions might have been foreseen the moment the man left the party, ostensibly to look for water, but in reality to look for assistance. And although a natural dread of the white man had hitherto prevented them from openly commencing their attack, waiting probably for a more favourable opportunity at nightfall, a quarrel having once arisen, however trifling, their savage blood was roused, and all their bad feelings awakened. They immediately rose in a body, and made a general discharge of their spears at the two unhappy white men. The captain faced them boldly, and soon received several severe wounds in front, and at last tried to save himself by flight. But, wounded as he was, they soon overtook him, and struck him down, it is to be hoped, quite dead, although even that does not appear certain.

The mate, on the other hand, who stood sideways to receive the discharge of spears, presenting a narrower surface than in front, was wounded with two spears in the right arm, and one in the neighbourhood of the right eye, and, having picked up one of them, made a furious charge at those who were nearest to him, and killed two of the savages on the spot. Numbers, however, necessarily prevailed over the most desperate courage, and he was at last struck down by a heavy blow of a club over the head, and, being senseless, was considered dead. They now dragged him towards the fire, as he afterwards found, and must have struck him seve-

ral heavy blows upon different parts of the body. On coming to himself again, he found that he was stripped of all his clothes, lying naked upon the sand, and so exhausted that he could neither speak nor move. Gradually, however, becoming sensible of his helpless situation, he looked around him from time to time, unobserved; and, at length, to his great horror, discovered the body of his unfortunate captain, lying by the side of the fire, and several natives standing around it, some of whom were busy cutting off slices from the fleshy parts of the body, while others roasted them in the fire, with all the appearance of anxious longing for the feast!

Can any situation be conceived more horrible at this moment than that of the unfortunate wounded man? If he betrayed symptoms of life, he was sure to be beaten with heavy clubs to death; if he lay quiet, to all appearance lifeless, it was far from improbable that, when they should have become satiated with the flesh of his companion, they might be ready to commence their butchery upon himself. Who can picture to himself, without horror, the dreadful moments which lingered as they passed, and seemed endless in the anxiety of suspense! There the poor fellow lay, in speechless agony; the fated witness of barbarity the most revolting.

At length, having gorged themselves with that horrible repast, in the peculiar manner which those who have ever seen the hungry savage at his meal can never forget, they fell asleep round the fire, under the full oppression of repletion. The poor mate, perceiving this, made a desperate effort to rouse himself from his death-like dreaminess, and try to fly from his impending fate, he

knew not how or whither. He could not stand, he could not walk, and almost fainted with the effort; yet he crawled on hands and knees towards the neighbouring bush or thicket, and there contrived to hide himself.

He lay concealed in helplessness until the following day, when he was discovered by the restless eye of the suspicious savage. He asked, by signs, for water; but not only was that refused to him, but he was given to understand, without difficulty, that they looked forward to the pleasure of eating him for their evening meal with particular satisfaction; and a sort of rude table was pointed out to him, upon which they intended to cut him up for their repast, according to their most approved fashion. After this, they left him alone in his misery. It should be mentioned that, when they refused him drink, they *did* give him a little food, of some kind or other, which they *forced* him to eat; and—horrible to think of!—it was not improbably a part of his murdered companion, upon which they had regaled themselves the evening before.

As night approached, the man, finding himself somewhat recovered from the shock of his wounds, made another desperate effort to escape. He could now walk; and slowly and cautiously he pursued his way, tracing back his course, with the almost unerring instinct which the resolution of despair awakens. The darkness of the night favoured him; and, by sometimes diving into the wood for concealment, sometimes resting in the darkest part of the thicket to collect his failing strength, and then again boldly urging on his course along the more open beach by the sea-side, he at length eluded all his

pursuers. They had followed him, for some distance, in vain; and he safely reached, on the following day, the schooner he had left, completely exhausted and helpless.

Here he found that, even during his short absence, death had done its work among his messmates on board. Finding that there was no hope of procuring relief on shore, another attempt was made to get the boat over the bar—and with success. In this the chief mate, with two men, embarked, in the hope of being able to make their passage along the coast to Delagoa Bay. The attempt most fortunately succeeded; and, at the end of five days, to the inexpressible joy of all the survivors upon the wreck, a large boat was descried approaching it, which had been hired by their comrades from the Portuguese authorities for two hundred dollars, for the purpose of bringing them off. But their troubles were not yet destined to end. A heavy sea still continued to beat upon the bar, creating such a surf that they were compelled to wait at least fourteen days more before they could leave the schooner. Happily, they were at length able to embark; and, carrying with them the most portable articles of value they could stow away, they ultimately succeeded in reaching Delagoa Bay.

Such was the melancholy tale which had occasioned the very opportune address to the sable king beforementioned; and it is to be hoped that some benefit may in future be derived from the judicious manner in which the subject was handled, during his majesty's visit to the Nemesis. It has more than once been suspected, that some of the tribes on the eastern coast of Africa

were cannibals, under certain circumstances: but others again, and Captain Owen among the number, have declared that, "on inquiry, even their greatest enemies acquitted them of the suspicion." There does not, however, appear to be any well-grounded reason for calling in question the truth of the statement made by this unfortunate man, Reid. His tale was told with every appearance of truth; and, although it might be suggested that the man was not unlikely to have been in a state of dreamy delirium, after the wounds and blows he had received upon the head, and might have been led by fear to imagine what he pictured to himself to be true, still this is a very unsatisfactory answer to a simple tale of facts, artlessly told, and without any object to be gained by inventing a case of horror. Besides which, he could hardly have found his way back to the schooner without assistance, had he not perfectly recovered his senses before he started.

Two of the unfortunate men entered as able seamen on board the Nemesis, with liberty to be discharged when they pleased, and continued on board until she arrived at Singapore; but the second mate preferred waiting for any American vessel that might touch at the settlement.

To return once more to the old king, and the behaviour of the natives generally, it may here be remarked, that the former went back to his own country, to all appearance impressed with a very high opinion of the power, the wealth, and the friendly disposition of the English. Several visits were paid to his encampment, during the remainder of his stay, by the officers of the

Nemesis; and on all occasions they were received with becoming civility, and with attention worthy of more enlightened beings.

These poor people appeared in some respects superior to the small tribes which frequent the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement. There was, on one occasion, a dancing exhibition among the latter, which was savage in all respects, and even indecent in some. They had rude drums and discordant horns, with which they bellowed forth the most savage din that ever won the name of music; and the contortions of their bodies, as they danced and hopped about with inconceivable exertion, ornamented with pieces of the skins of various wild animals, made them more resemble demons upon the stage, in the opera of Der Freischütz, than higher beings destined to run their little race of mock humanity upon earth.

It may seem that I have dwelt long upon the subjects of interest connected with the stay of the Nemesis at Delagoa Bay; but in reality it is a part of the coast of Africa little known to the general reader, and as the vessel was detained there for a considerable time, many objects of interest were noticed and remembered. I have before memtioned that the Portuguese have been very far from advancing the civilization of the natives. There is certainly no love for each other between them; and the debasing influences of the slave-trade seem universally to poison the heart, and turn even the softer sympathies of our nature, in course of time, into the harder brittleness of the lifeless rock. Were it otherwise, how could you be brought to witness the cruel

degradation of the weaker sex, which is inflicted upon them by the Portuguese authorities, more because they are black instead of white, than because their crimes are blacker, or their natures less alive to the infliction! Whatever may be the cause, none can view with cold indifference, or without a wish to set them free, the unhappy native women *driven* to work in chains, some even with children tied upon their backs. They may be slaves, they may be offenders against the law which Portuguese governors administer, but still they are women, and claim rather pity than the vindictiveness of anger.

One poor native woman was discovered who spoke English tolerably well, and was found to have been extremely useful as interpreter to all the English and American vessels, whalers, and others, which touched there for supplies. For what particular reason does not appear, but this poor creature had been strictly forbidden by the governor to go on board the Nemesis, under pain of the severest punishment; indeed, she had been kept in close confinement nearly ever since the arrival of the vessel. But, at length, when an American whaler came into the bay, she was allowed to visit *that ship* as usual. There was something peculiarly artless and good-natured about the poor woman's manner, and she expressed a particular wish to be allowed to see some person from the English ship. Word was accordingly brought from the American captain to that effect.

Her tale was a remarkable one, and told with considerable intelligence. She expressed her attachment to the English in strong terms, enumerated the various

kindnesses she had received from them, inquired after particular ships and individuals, and seemed to remember almost every trifling incident that had occurred. She was greatly afraid of being punished by the governor, for having dared to talk to the English, but could assign no particular grounds for the harsh treatment she received. It was, however, shrewdly suspected that it arose from fear that she might furnish information about the slave-trade, and that in fact her remarks might already have been very useful to the English cruizers, and, consequently, injurious to the Portuguese dealers. It has been before stated that the governor himself was not free from the suspicion of countenancing the traffic; and, taking all the circumstances together, it became pretty evident that this poor woman's treatment was only one of the links in the chain of turpitude forged out of the iron rod of slavery.

The repairs of the Nemesis had by this time been completed, after working day and night without intermission during the whole time she had been there. Nothing now remained but to fill up the fresh water necessary for the ship's company, and to take in the little fuel still required to complete her proper supply.

For the first time since their arrival, some of the officers were now able to leave the ship for a day, and make an interesting excursion up the river. They started early in the morning, accompanied by a Portuguese merchant and his servant. It being now the least unhealthy season of the year, there was little or no danger to be apprehended from sickness, particularly as it was not their intention to remain out at night.

It has already been noticed that the English River is, in fact, formed by the united waters of three rivers at the distance of only five or six miles from the fort, the largest being the Temby, to the southward, and the smallest, the Dundas, to the westward, while the Mattoll runs up towards the northward. The Dundas was the one chosen on the present excursion, as there was good expectation of finding large herds of hippopotami upon its banks, and perhaps other wild animals, which would furnish a capital day's sport. The banks of the river were low, and the stream sluggish, and on all sides abundance of mangrove shrubs and bushes, sufficient of themselves to indicate that the country must frequently be flooded. Birds of various kinds, particularly such as feed upon small fish and worms, were seen in great numbers, curlews and crows, and occasionally a pelican, with wild geese and pigeons, and now and then rarer birds of more beautiful plumage.

As the boat ascended, four wild buffaloes were seen at a distance, and a beautiful zebra was descried, galloping away from the river-side. But the most striking objects were the numerous hippopotami, in the midst of whose favourite haunts they now found themselves. A more curious or exciting scene can scarcely be imagined; and when it was resolved to continue the ascent, in the hope of having some fine sport, the Portuguese merchant was so alarmed that he very humbly requested that he might be left behind. The strange animals opened their huge mouths, and bellowed forth a sound something like the roar of an ox in concert with the grunt of a wild boar, with a little accompaniment of the braying of an ass.

They did not at first seem frightened, but showed their formidable-looking teeth as if they had some right to frighten others. Hundreds of them started up at different times, some rising from the shallow mud in which they had been lying, and hastening off with a quick heavy tread; others again just raising their heads up from the deeper parts of the river, and diving again like porpoises. Several of them were fired at and wounded, upon which they dived instantly out of sight, without rising again. Indeed, they are hardly ever killed in such a way as to be taken upon the spot at once; but, dying under water, the carcase of course rises to the surface after two or three days, and is then taken possession of by the natives. Their flesh is eaten with great avidity in times of scarcity; but, generally speaking, they are more valued for the beautiful ivory of their teeth, which are collected and bartered for various articles of European manufacture.

Several natives were seen paddling about in the river in their little canoes, apparently without any fear of the hippopotami, and one party of them was spoken to, and appeared harmless and contented; but their invitation to land and look at the country was not accepted, as there was little time to spare, and their treacherous character was sufficiently known to make it imprudent to divide a small party into still smaller ones. They, however, explained the mode in which they contrive to kill the hippopotami, very intelligibly, viz., sometimes by making a regular charge at some of them singled out on purpose, with their spears. To effect this, they go in large numbers together, but the expedition is at-

tended with considerable danger, and rarely resorted to except in times of dearth. A more common method is to lay traps of various kinds for them, either upon the banks of the river itself, or among the neighbouring trees, a party being constantly at hand, in concealment, to despatch them at the last moment.

The whole distance ascended, from the junction of the Dundas with the English River, was about seven or eight miles, when the water became so shallow that the boats could scarcely proceed. Towards evening, therefore, they again descended with the ebb-tide, having the full light of the moon to guide them down to their ship, after a laborious but very agreeable day, which fully repaid them, by the interesting objects which presented themselves to their notice.

Their last day had now arrived; and with a view to show them every possible attention, as well as to conciliate their good offices, the governor invited them to a grand entertainment; on which occasion all the delicacies of the African coast had been sought out, to do honour to the guests. Rare vegetables and fruits had been collected, and grand discussions had taken place in the settlement, upon the relative gastronomic value of *sucking pigs*, and *buffalo cutlets*, and the peculiar claims to consideration of *sea-horse soup*, or *Guinea-fowl ragoût*. Certainly nothing was omitted which could contribute to the novelty and perfection of the entertainment.

The governor's residence on the outside was something like a good-sized English cottage, consisting of only one floor, as is commonly the case in hot countries, and having two white pillars in front, which supported a por-

tion of the roof, serving at the same time for a verandah. It was ornamented with green branches for the occasion, affording a very necessary protection from the glare of the sun, which was still high and powerful. There were several other smaller cottages disposed around it, something in the form of a square, but not a single tree or other relieving object, to soften the burning reflection from the deep sand which formed the site of the fort and of the governor's residence.

The dinner went off with great eclat, and no little amusement at the original attempts of the black waiters (of course, slaves) to vie with European refinement. Towards evening, when tea had at length been handed round, the entertainment was concluded with, "for the last time of performance," a dance of the native women belonging to the neighbouring village. Little can be said for the good taste displayed, either in the dancing, or in the singing which accompanied it. It is, indeed, rather degrading than otherwise to one's pride of humanity, to witness the grotesque and sometimes worse than ridiculous contortions of the body and countenance, which form the essence of the dances of savage life, particularly when performed by women. The whole affair lasted for about an hour, when, glad to escape the heat and noise, the officers returned to their ship, well pleased with the attentions which they had received on shore. On the same day, the men on board had been regaled with a capital dinner of roast beef and plum-pudding, and an extra glass of grog, in reward for their good behaviour and energy during the refitting of the ship.

Little further remains to be said of Delag
though many interesting facts might have bee
in relation to the slave-trade, had the Nemesis
there longer. It appears very evident that
the trade was carried on with greater atrocity
present, but enough is still known respecting it to m
us look upon the natives themselves as the worst
tors of the traffic. The passions of the savage c
seem only to be withheld for a moment, not suppres
by the difficulty of procuring slaves; and when the
neither find enemies to seize, nor *culprits to con*
they sometimes send a sort of maurading expeditio
seize by treachery *their own people*, and sell them
slavery. It is stated by Captain Owen that, within
a few years, under a former commandant, some of
chiefs had been persuaded to sell their harmless subjects for so trifling a sum as a dollar and a half each, or about seven shillings, to be paid, not in money, but in merchandize of trifling value, and that several cargoes had been obtained in this way for the Brazilian market. No wonder that, at this rate, the fortunate landing of even one cargo in three at their ultimate destination should produce so enormous a profit upon the speculation.

If we look for the most thriving mart for slaves upon the east coast of Africa, at the present time, we shall find it at the river Quillimane, a little more than five hundred miles to the north of Delagoa Bay. It lies about midway between that settlement and Mozambique. There the slaves are purchased for coarse cloth, gunpowder, beads, cutlery, &c.; and the "arrival of one of the little traders, with his pedlar-kind of stock, among

one of the native tribes in the interior, becomes the signal for general warfare, in which the weak become the victims of the strong." A few years ago, no less than five thousand slaves were annually exported from this mart alone, to Rio Janeiro. But it is impossible to ascertain how many of this human cargo may have lived to reach their destination.

It is indeed astonishing that a place so unhealthy in itself as Quillimane should be able to keep up its constant supply of human export. The soil and the very air are no less pestilential than the traffic which debases it. But the effects of the demand are felt far and wide, and hundreds of miles in the interior the slave-hunt, as it may be called, is carried on; and the ramifications of this odious traffic spread themselves, like the branches of the upas-tree, not merely poisoning all within its shade, but becoming more and more infectious as it branches out further from the root.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Delagoa Bay—U certainty of the Compasses—Arri at Mozambique—No danger from lightning to iron vessels— of slave-traders—Measures of the governor—Determined to put do the trade—Visit to the Nemesis—Description of Mozambique— marks on its inhabitants—Slave-dealing—Curious law—Coal fou Future advantages—Best place of call on the coast—Arrival a Comoro islands—Johanna—Character of its inhabitants.

All preparations being at length completed, on the morning of the 17th of August, just twenty days after having so providentially succeeded in reaching her port of refuge, the Nemesis was once more ready to pursue her voyage. Steam was again got up, and, in order to try the engine, and the steadiness of the vessel, once more before proceeding out to sea, she was taken some way up the river and round the bay, the governor and all his family being on board. On landing, his Excellency ordered a salute of seven guns to be fired from the fort, which was returned with cheers only, out of consideration to the sick men who were on board; for already two or three cases of fever, not however fatal, had broken out.

As the vessel pursued her course out of the bay, she was heartily cheered by the few ships which were there,

particularly by an American whaler, which had come in for supplies some time before. Yet all was "mystery" still; all knew whence she came, but none knew whither she went.

Scarcely had she cleared the Bay of Delagoa, when a strong head-wind, high sea, and adverse current, promised again to baffle her efforts. In consequence of this, after proceeding six or seven miles out to sea, and, finding that she was pitching heavily, it was thought better to bring her up again along the shore. She pursued her course steadily, in spite of the strong lee-current, until the next evening, when it was resolved to come to anchor about three or four miles from the coast. The weather soon moderated considerably, and she ran on as far as Cape Corrientes. But as the land from this point takes a long sweep to the westward, towards Mozambique, forming by this means an immense bay, she was obliged to stand out to sea again.

On the 22nd August she passed near the groupe of Rocky Islands, called Bassa da India, which are situated nearly in the middle of the channel, and pursued her voyage under sail. Of course, her progress was slow against an adverse wind, and no little anxiety was felt by her captain, on account of the uncertainty of the compasses, and their discrepancy with each other. She arrived, however, safely at Mozambique on the afternoon of the 31st, without having had occasion to use her engines, except just to carry her into the anchorage.

As she passed through the outer roads, she communicated with H.M. brig Acorn, Captain Adams, which was on the look-out for two slavers daily ex-

pected to arrive for cargoes; and, the better to entrap them, she had hoisted a sort of decoy-flag at her main, which she had already taken from one of the same description. While a short visit was being paid on board, a pilot had come off from the shore, to conduct the Nemesis into the inner harbour, where she was soon brought to within a quarter of a mile of the town. Little time, however, could be spared for the visit, but there was still some necessary work to be done on board, which could not be completed until the following day. I have stated that three stringers, or beams, had been fixed to the ship's side at Delagoa Bay, but, in reality, only two of them were finished there, the third having been prepared on her voyage up to Mozambique, and only fixed in its proper position on her arrival there, with the assistance of the carpenters from the Acorn.

As the errors of the compasses have been alluded to above, and seem to have occasioned very great anxiety upon this passage, it may be well to make some remarks about them again in this place. It will be remembered, that before leaving Liverpool a long series of experiments had been made, which were intended to provide means of counteracting the local action of the iron of the ship's hull upon the compasses. But no worse place can be imagined than a crowded dock for the purpose of carrying on experiments of such nicety. Disturbing causes were continually operating, and the accident she met with on her way to Portsmouth proved that the correctness of the compasses was very far from being satisfactory. The experiments which were afterwards made at Portsmouth were also very

doubtful in their result, in all probability owing, as before explained, to the absence of the boxes of chain or broken iron, which are always used by Professor Airey. It may readily be imagined that the utmost anxiety was always felt on board the vessel on this account, particularly when near the land; and many a long and anxious night has been spent on deck, with frequently a leadsman upon each of the paddle-boxes, to take soundings, and one in the bows besides.

The large magnets, as originally placed in their positions, have never been moved, neither has the compass been changed in the slightest degree. But, although they have greatly *modified* the errors, they have by no means sufficed to correct them. It has been always found the safest course not to put faith in the compasses at all; or, rather, in this instance, observation showed that a compass, suspended in a box from a cross spar, at the height of ten or twelve feet above the head of the man at the helm, acted with much more accuracy than any other, and it was always the most relied on whenever it could be used.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the vessel has often made a longer passage than she would have done had the compasses been correct; for, in bad weather, when observations of the celestial bodies could not be taken, she could scarcely have avoided making many errors in her course. But nowhere were these difficulties felt more anxiously than in this passage through the Mozambique Channel, where land could never be very far distant. The necessity for a constant good look-out, and for two or even three men in the chains, produced

anxiety and fatigue in itself; while it was also necessary for the officers to have the advantage of taking the altitudes of the stars, whenever the night was clear enough, not only once, but many times during the night. The compasses not only differed from the true points, but differed also from each other; and, particularly in the Mozambique Channel, it was observed that they differed more than elsewhere, without being influenced, however, by the rapid atmospheric changes which prevailed. The more the ship's course was directed towards the true pole, the less was the error of the compass; but gradually, as her course was changed towards the east or west, so did the errors and discrepancies of the compasses increase.

It is satisfactory to know that the same degree of difficulty was not experienced on board the other iron steamers which were sent out afterwards; and, as the Nemesis was the first of her class that ever made the voyage, it is right here to record the difficulties she encountered under this head. Many an anxious watch has been spent on deck, trying to catch the altitude of particular stars as they emerged, for a moment, from the dense clouds or haze; and much of this kind of labour, so frequently repeated, would have been saved, had her compasses been trustworthy.

With respect to the effects of lightning upon an iron ship, and the danger which was to be apprehended from the attraction, both of the vessel as a body, and of its particular parts as points for the electrical fluid to touch upon in its passage between the clouds and the earth, no inconvenience whatever seems to have been felt.

Much had been said about it in England, before her departure for a tropical region. The timid, and those less acquainted with the subject, openly expressed their apprehensions; the learned smiled with more of curiosity than fear; but the officers of the vessel itself were too busy about other matters to give themselves time to think much about the question. During their voyage to the southward, when many dangers were encountered, certainly that from lightning was amongst the least thought of; and now, as they were passing through the Mozambique Channel, a part of the world particularly famous for its heavy storms of thunder and lightning, not the slightest effect from it was observed upon the iron vessel. The funnel has a perfectly smooth top, without any ornamental points, such as are sometimes seen; and the main rigging and funnel stays were made of chain at the top, and rope throughout the rest.[1]

It is now time to return to the anchorage at Mozambique, where we left the Nemesis. Of course, as she passed the principal Portuguese fort, she fired a salute, which was returned, and immediately became the signal to the whole town that something uncommon was to be expected. The arrival of a large steamer was soon made known in every direction, and not only became a

[1] Which is considered by far the most useful plan, and most calculated to withstand the sudden jerks and heavy rolling motion, which cannot be avoided in a shallow steamer. The great precaution required in every steamer is to have no sharp points of iron about her. But, as regards the mere hull of the vessel, the only practical result arrived at appears to be, that there is no greater danger to be apprehended from the effects of lightning upon one of iron, than if it were constructed in the usual manner of wood.

source of curiosity to all, but an object of great alarm to many. The first impression was that she was sent purposely to put an end to the slave-trade at that place, and the consternation became general; for the governor, of whom more will presently be said, at once encouraged this opinion, which he felt would strengthen his power, as it did his determination, which was proved to be perfectly sincere, to do his utmost to stop the trade. Those most interested in the traffic had already begun openly to defy his power, and had not hesitated to declare to him that they would still carry it on in some of the shallow rivers, where vessels of war could not approach them. But the sight of a large steamer, running along close in-shore, almost as if she were a small boat, drawing at the same time only five feet and a half of water, at once damped their ardour. They never could have dreamed that a large heavily-armed vessel could move wherever she pleased through their smallest streams; and their alarm was proportioned to their surprise.

Shortly before this, there had been so strong a disposition to resist the governor's power, that it had amounted almost to a rebellion; and his Excellency, though a bold man, and the first governor of the Portuguese possessions on that coast who had come with the honest determination to stop the trade at all hazards, felt himself in a very awkward position. Perhaps he had not forgotten the mutiny of the troops, and the disturbances which had taken place there about fifteen years before, under a former governor; then the town was only saved from pillage, and the government

from being overturned, by the opportune aid of the seamen of H.M.S. Andromache and Cygnet, under Commodore Nourse. These vessels happened to be in the outer roads at the time, and application was officially made to the commodore, for protection to the lives and persons of the governor and his family, and the peaceable portion of the inhabitants. Mutineers and rioters have generally so little reliance upon each other, that they are, in most instances, overthrown with the greatest ease by the coolness and decision of a small body of regular troops, acting with good faith. But on that occasion the whole of the rioters dispersed on seeing the British seamen approach the landing-place, and before they had even landed before the palace.

So likewise, in the present instance, the governor felt himself strong enough to take extreme measures, the moment he saw the steamer so close to the town. He afterwards admitted that her arrival was most opportune, and so pleased was he, at the same time, that he turned at once upon the slave-dealers; even that very day he seized two large slavers, condemned them at once, and publicly sold them by auction before the day was over. Such vigorous measures had been quite unknown under any former governor, and at once proved, both to the Portuguese and to the world, that his professions were real, and that he meant to keep his word. He had before this taken strong measures against the dealers in slaves, but this bold step was the finishing stroke of his policy, and at once filled all parties with dismay. In fact, trade of all kinds was stagnant for the moment, in consequence of the mea-

sures adopted; and large heaps of valuable ivory were lying there useless, in consequence of the impossibility, or, at all events, extreme hazard, of sending the usual slave-ships to sea, which would convey it to a market.

The governor is a brigadier-general in the Portuguese service, by name Joachim Pereira Morinho, and had formerly served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. He had not been long on the coast; but, as he had come with a full determination to destroy the slave-trade, or, at all events, to do his utmost towards it, he had already been long enough there to gain the ill-will of all the Portuguese residents. Indeed, he did not live altogether in security from violence, arising from the vindictive feelings of those interested in the traffic; and he had, therefore, requested Captain Adams, in the Acorn, to remain there as long as he could to afford him protection; and had also detained a small brig-of-war belonging to his own country, named the Villa Flora, to overawe the seafaring part of the population.

The governor seemed to entertain the best feelings towards the English generally, with whom he had associated a good deal, and particularly inquired what assistance he could give to the Nemesis. As fuel and vegetables were, of course, most in request, they were mentioned. He appeared quite pleased to have it in his power to furnish something that would be of use to her; and, to the gratification of every one, a large boat came off to the ship early in the morning, bringing a fat ox, four sheep, a large pig, and some vegetables and fruit; besides which there was also a large country

boat full of wood, containing eight thousand pieces. In addition to these very handsome presents, he also proposed to fill up the ship's water free of expense. This was accompanied by a note, in Portuguese, from the secretary-general of the province, Don Antonio Julio di Castro Pinto, of high degree and higher-sounding name, who was charged by his Excellency to offer the good things above-mentioned "as a mark of his good will, and of his sense of the service which the visit of the Nemesis would render to the cause of anti-slavery, and, at the same time, as a trifling present to a brother in arms from an old soldier, grown grey in the service of his country, both at home and abroad."

Nothing could have been more acceptable, and, through the active assistance which the Nemesis received, she was enabled to proceed on her voyage, after little more than a day's delay. As an acknowledgment of his Excellency's attention, a trifling present of some capital hollands, preserved salmon, and English pickles, were sent to him, which were very great luxuries in that part of the world, and appeared to be duly appreciated. His Excellency had never before seen a steamer in those parts; and, the better to do justice to his good nature, and to increase the sensation her arrival had produced on shore, he was invited to come on board to look at the ship, and to partake of such refreshment as she had to offer. This was accordingly a grand day for all parties, and the 1st of September, 1840, will have been, on many accounts, long remembered at Mozambique.

His Excellency came on board in his state-barge, attended by all his suite, in full uniform, under a salute from the batteries and the Portuguese brig-of-war, while crowds of spectators stood upon every point on shore whence a good view could be obtained. The deck of the Nemesis, though rather crowded with visiters, presented a gay appearance, from the variety of uniforms and foreign orders which all those who were entitled to them, not few in number, displayed upon the occasion.

Sufficient time having been spent in viewing the ship and inspecting the machinery, which few of them had ever seen before, the whole party sat down to a grand *déjeûner à la fourchette*. Now, it may seem that a trifling incident of this sort could have no possible connection with the suppression of the slave-trade; and, moreover, this latter question has been more frequently discussed at tea-drinking parties among benevolent ladies, than at champagne luncheons among the redoubtable sons of Mars. Yet the impression which a thing makes is often of more consequence than might otherwise be anticipated from the trifling nature of the thing itself.

The healths of the Queens of England and of Portugal were drank with three times three, followed immediately by a salute of twenty-one guns, both from the steamer and the Portuguese brig. The effect of this upon the inhabitants was by no means unimportant; it impressed them more than ever with the conviction, that the governments of the two countries were perfectly united in their determination to suppress the

slave-trade; and the sound of the royal salutes ringing in their ears completely put an end, for the moment certainly, of all their inclinations to resist the governor's authority.

In proof of his determination to do his utmost to suppress the slave-trade, General Morinho had already ordered one of the deputy-governors to be brought up to Mozambique, to be tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders, in permitting the trade under his own eyes; and it has already been mentioned, that from the information which was given by the Nemesis of the slave-brig at Delagoa Bay, lying under the very guns of the fort, the governor of that settlement was also to be sent for.

After all, however, the tenure of his Excellency's power must always be unstable; since a strong interest would be exerted elsewhere, among the numerous influential parties interested, more or less, in the trade, to obtain his removal under some pretence or other.

That no attention might be omitted, after the great kindness his Excellency had shown to all on board, he and his party were steamed some way up the river, to show them the capabilities of the vessel; thousands of boats crowded round her in all directions, while the house-tops, the fort, the beach, and all the ships in port, were covered with people anxious to see the greatest novelty the place had ever been witness to — the first steamer, moving with rapidity about their fine harbour, and in whatever direction she pleased.

A few words may not be out of place concerning the position of Mozambique, and its eligibility as a place of

call for fuel, should steamers be sent more frequently by that route to India. The following description of the harbour, taken from Captain Owen's narrative of his surveys on that coast, will be found perfectly correct. "It is formed by a deep inlet of the sea, five and a half miles broad and six long, receiving the waters of three inconsiderable rivers at its head. At the entrance are three small islands, which, together with reefs and shoals, render the anchorage perfectly safe in the worst weather. Of these islands, that of Mozambique, on which stands the city, is completely formed of coral, very low and narrow, and scarcely one mile and a half in length. It is situated nearly in the centre of the inlet, and just within the line of the two points that form its extremities. The other two islands, called St. George and St. Jago, lie about three miles outside of Mozambique, but close to each other. They are uninhabited, although covered with rich verdure and trees, but upon a coral foundation."

Mozambique was taken from the Arabs by the Portuguese, at the very commencement of the sixteenth century; and the extent of the fort of St. Sebastian, built there by them, and which even now might be rendered a very strong fortification, capable of mounting nearly a hundred guns, if in proper repair, will be sufficient to show the great importance which they attributed to it, even in that early period of its settlement. It still contains large barracks and extensive quarters and storehouses, but only a very small and feeble garrison, of scarcely more than a couple of hundred men, either black or creole seapoys. There

are likewise two other smaller forts upon the island, which may therefore be considered strongly fortified, although more indebted to the past than to the present for the importance which, at first view, it appears to possess.

The public buildings of Mozambique all bespeak the value of the settlement to its possessors, in the days of Portuguese maritime distinction. The governor's palace must have been, in its best days, a residence worthy of an influential ruler. It is built of stone, is of considerable extent, and has some fine rooms in it; in fact, it speaks much for the importance attached by the Portuguese, in former times, to their eastern possessions. The large stone wharf, built on handsome arches, with the fine Custom House, in a sort of square at the extremity of it, clearly point out the ancient commercial value of the settlement; withered at last, perhaps, more by the paralyzing effects of the slave-trade, than by any natural decrease in the commercial capabilities of the east coast of Africa.

In short, the city has retrogaded into comparative insignificance; the number of resident Portuguese has become very inconsiderable, with the exception of some Canareens or creole Portuguese, born in other Portuguese possessions in India, and, though commonly called white, are only so "by courtesy," being often quite as black as the true Indians. Bad government and moral deterioration have added not a little to the other causes of its downfall; and it will scarcely be credited that a distinct law has been passed, that those who were married should be compelled to remain there, or,

at least, not return to their own country. The effect of so extraordinary a measure has been, that nobody is disposed to get married at all; and so low a tone of moral feeling has come to prevail, that people live together in perfect amity, without any matrimonial or moral ties, and with little feeling of shame at the absence of them.

I have dwelt a little upon these particulars concerning Mozambique, because it is the principal of all the Portuguese settlements on that coast; and if, as such, it has fallen so far from its former state, we may judge how the others must now be lingering on between life and death. The fatal influence of the slave-trade appears to paralyze the whole commercial traffic of the country; the natives, being reduced to mutual distrust of each other, and continually living in fear and poverty, are unable to purchase the comforts of foreign manufactures. The selling of slaves is almost the only profit of the chiefs, unfitting them for every other enterprise, and deadening within them every feeling of honour and every hope of improvement. A universal stagnation seems to hang over the mind of man, as well as over the productions of the earth. Were it not for the industry of the Arab population in the neighbourhood, a periodical famine would inevitably occur. At the present moment, the whole of the Portuguese possessions, along the Rios da Senna, do not supply even enough grain for their own consumption. Yet the country is a remarkably fine one, capable of producing luxuriantly all the fruits of the earth, and, were it cleared and cultivated, would become habitable even for Europeans, through the

improvement of its climate; yet, there is much land now neglected and barren, which was once highly cultivated.

The slave-trade is, in fact, a worse pestilence to the country than even the fever itself; and Mozambique, Quillimane, Delagoa Bay, Sofala, and Inhamban, are all fallen to the lowest grade of civilization. If you ask the simple tale of history, what has been the effect of Portuguese rule upon that coast, you will hear neither of savages reclaimed, soil improved, commerce extended, justice and mercy practised, nor Christianity taught. One single cloud seems to have blighted the germ of every improvement in its very bud; and the blight of slavery has poisoned every leaf on which it rested.

Nevertheless, as a place of call for refreshment, for ships passing through the Channel, Mozambique has some claims to attention. Abundance of vegetables and fruit are to be obtained there; pigs and goats are readily to be purchased, as well as poultry; and, were the demand for bullocks larger, they would soon be brought to market in numbers. At present, however, they are very dear.

But the great treasure of the place remains yet to be developed; at all events, the subject is well open to investigation. The existence of good coal in that neighbourhood is now, I believe for the first time, made public. There is reason to expect that it will be found in large quantity, and of good quality, although as yet the search for it has not been carried on to any great extent. The all-engrossing subject of the slave-trade

seems to darken every other object of attention in that quarter, and the Portuguese are probably afraid that the discovery of coal in their settlements would occasion the continual visits of so many steamers and other vessels, that even greater difficulty would be thrown in the way of the traffic.

Just as the Nemesis was leaving the harbour, the captain of an English merchant ship, the only one there at the time, brought off a large piece of excellent coal for inspection. It had all the appearance of coal perfectly adapted for steaming purposes; it was stated to be found at Quillimane, (the settlement before alluded to) about three hundred miles to the southward of Mozambique, and that there is every reason to believe it might be procured in large quantities, and worked without difficulty. This specimen was sent to England for examination; but it has since been ascertained that it was not fortunate enough to reach its destination. This is on all accounts to be regretted. It was sent down to the Cape of Good Hope from Mozambique, in a box, with directions that it should be forwarded to the India House, but was probably lost, or set aside at the Cape.

If further investigation should prove what is here stated to be correct, there can be no reason for not searching for coal upon other parts of the coast; and under any circumstances, as Quillimane is so short a distance from Mozambique, the coal might easily be brought up to the latter at little expense; and, if it were to become a more frequented route to India, it would be desirable to moor a large coal-hulk off the

town, in which a constant supply of coal could be kept ready, and which could be taken in rapidly, and at little expense, by a steamer running up alongside of her.

But the Portuguese, unfortunately, seem quite blind, even to their own interests; and they cannot perceive, that if they could work coal-mines, they would employ a large population, circulate wealth throughout their territory, and attract a considerable and improving commerce to their port. But then their slave-trade would be ruined: and they are not even wise enough in their own generation to perceive, that out of its very ashes would gradually spring up the healthy and vigorous plant of commerce, upon an extensive scale, not only with foreign parts, but with the native tribes of Africa. These, however, are now continually desolated by the scourge of war and slavery. But they would soon learn to value peace and peaceful arts, and the taste for new articles of manufacture would grow gradually into wants, and wants in course of time give birth to the wish for luxuries. Far above all the profits of the traffic in human beings, would then become the fruits of wholesome trade; the country would advance, instead of being driven back; and the welfare of the community and of the government be simultaneously promoted.

New regulations respecting trade would in the first instance be indispensable, as at the present time the commandants or little governors of all the minor Portuguese settlements are themselves allowed to trade, and often are the principal, or in a manner the only, merchants in the place. This alone must destroy all

healthy competition, the soul of commerce. But, were trade placed upon a proper footing, and coal likely to become an article of demand, it would easily be exported to the Cape, Mauritius, and up to Aden for the Bombay steamers, and to numerous other parts, in which the demand for coal is yearly increasing, and likely to become almost unlimited.

I have here rather assumed that coal will be found in large quantity, than proved it; but sufficient has been said to point out the great probability of its existence upon that coast, in more places than one; and the question involves such important consequences, that it deserves the fullest investigation.

It was at one time thought that coal would be found in some one of the Comoro islands before alluded to, at the northern extremity of the Mozambique Channel; and the Nemesis was directed, at all events, to touch there on her way, for the purpose of inquiring into its eligibility as a depôt, and place of refreshment for steamers.

The distance of the nearest of the Comoro islands, Mohilla, from Mozambique, is scarcely two hundred and fifty miles; and from thence to Johanna, which is the principal one, and the place of residence of the sultan or ruler of the islands, is about thirty miles. Johanna lies as near as possible in the middle of the Channel, between Madagascar and the mainland of Africa, just where it widens into the open sea.

The Nemesis took her departure from Mozambique on the evening of the 1st of September, but did not reach Johanna until the afternoon of the 4th, having

made nearly the whole distance under sail only, against a very strong south-westerly current.

The island of Mohilla is, of course, the first seen, and strikes you by its lofty, wooded summit, and the numerous small islets which surround it to the southward. The Channel between Mohilla and Johanna is picturesque, and the high inland mountains every where present a rich and refreshing appearance, covered as they are with luxuriant wood, and broken occasionally into deep glens, marked by the usual rich tropical verdure. Johanna is the most frequented of all the islands, and affords the best anchorage. But it was quite dark before the Nemesis approached the bay, and an occasional blue light and a rocket were let off, to give notice of her approach, in order that a pilot might come off, or else a signal be made to direct her to the best anchorage.

A large fire was soon lighted on shore for this purpose; and, no sooner did she come within a moderate distance, than numerous boats came alongside; the natives jumped on board, in apparent delight at seeing her come in, not unmixed with extreme surprise at her appearance, and the mode in which she moved through the water. Several of them spoke broken English, and although they were naturally delighted at the prospect of earning a little money, they were even more so at the sight of her armament, and at once concluded that she was sent purposely to assist the sultan and the people of the island, who were at that time in great danger and trouble.

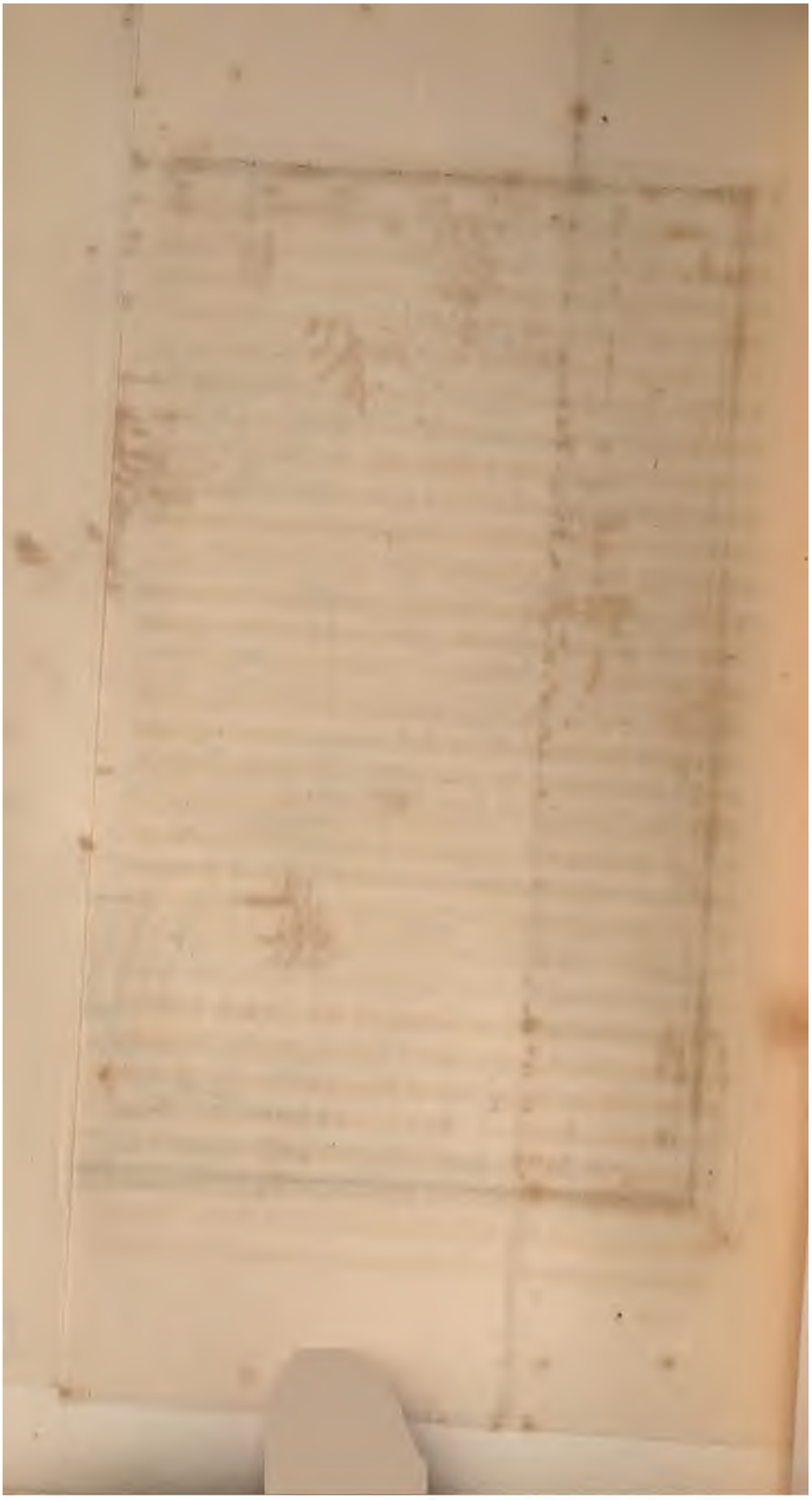
Johanna is occasionally frequented by English ships,

for provisions, which are there abundant and reasonable, and the people have become favourably known in England, in consequence of their kind treatment of numerous poor English seamen, who have from time to time been wrecked on those islands, or on the neighbouring coasts. The great bay, which is on the northern side of the island, is not, however, a very suitable anchorage, except, perhaps, during the S. W. monsoon. At all times, there is a very heavy surf rolling in shore; and, during the N. E. monsoon, which sets directly into it, the heavy swell renders the anchorage unsafe. It cannot, therefore, be considered at all eligible as a coal depôt for steamers, particularly when Mozambique, which has greater claims to attention, is within such a moderate distance. Still, it is a very useful place of refuge for our whaling ships in that part of the world; and, as the inhabitants, as well as the authorities, have always shown great kindness to the English, and, in fact, consider themselves almost in the light of allies of England, it would seem politic to keep alive the good feeling they evince toward us.

The inhabitants of these islands are principally of Moorish origin, nearly all Mohammedans, and they wear the turban and loose dress which belong to no part of the neighbouring coast; and a dagger or pistols in their girdle are by no means uncommon. They have a genuine old English or Arab mode of shaking hands, with a gaiety of manner by no means unpleasing. Their features are regular, and well formed, and their complexion, though dark, is very different from that of the inhabitants, either of the neighbouring continent, or of

the island of Madagascar. In short, it is evident, that they were originally emigrants from some distant part, probably Arab traders, although their appearance has become modified in the course of successive generations.

These islanders appear to be rather favourites of the different men-of-war and merchant ships which touch there; though they have acquired a character for duplicity and cunning, and, consequently, for telling falsehoods, which at the same time they smooth over with the most artful flattery. But high testimony has been often borne to their kindness and hospitality towards Englishmen in distress; and, when the Exmouth grounded there several years ago, with a great number of passengers, on her way home, the Sultan Abdallah, the father of his present highness, particularly distinguished himself, by even attending in person to direct the efforts of his men, who came to assist in getting the vessel off. He paid the utmost attention to all the passengers, particularly to the women and children, taking care that they should be provided with every thing he could furnish for their comfort, until they could pursue their voyage further. Nor is this by any means a solitary instance of the kind services which they have rendered to our countrymen.

Isaac Purdy Sculp.

CHAPTER VIII.

Comoro Islands — Sultan Alloué — His father Abdallah — Treaties for suppression of the Slave-trade — Faithful to their engagements—Sufferings — Former presents from the East India Company — Queen of Madagascar — Her cruelty — Missionaries put to death—Persecutions —Chiefs take refuge in Johanna — Story of Raymanytek — Double dealing—Secret traffic in slaves—Remonstrances produce rebellion—Arms his followers and slaves — The Sultan, being pressed, applies for assistance to the English — Arms sent from the Cape — Emissaries arrive at the Mauritius — Correspondence of Sultan Alloué — Intrigues of the slave-traders — Difficulties increase — Sultan applies for aid to Calcutta — Arrival of the Nemesis at Johanna — Critical moment — Interview — The Sultan's inquiries — Excursions into the interior — Aspect of the island — Entertainment at the palace — Sultan superintends the "cuisine" — Another entertainment — Ladies of the court—Conference on public affairs—Sultan's distress — Application to Raymanytek—Danger averted — English flag hoisted — Departure of the Nemesis.

The present ruler, or sultan, of the Comoro Islands, by name Alloué, is the son of the late sultan Abdallah, before alluded to as having been particularly kind to distressed Englishmen. He is a young man, under thirty, of moderate height, agreeable countenance, and easy, pleasant manners. But his character is not distinguished for energy, and the difficulties with which he has had to contend appear to have been rather beyond his powers.

His father, Abdallah, had made a treaty with Colonel Farquhar, when governor of the Mauritius, by which he undertook to suppress, by every means in his power, the extensive trade in slaves which was at that time carried on at the islands which were under his dominion; and he particularly distinguished himself by the zeal and perfect good faith with which he carried out its provisions. Indeed, to this cause much of the subsequent difficulties of his family, and the impoverishment of his people, seem to have been attributed.

In the latter days of Abdallah's life, he appears to have met with sad reverses; and, judging from the documents which I have been able to examine, it would seem that his determined resistance to the continuance of the slave-trade raised up enemies against him, not only in his own islands, but in the more powerful one of Madagascar, and on the coast of Africa itself. It is certain, also, that he was at all times favourably regarded by the government of Bombay, for his services to the Company's ships, and, as an acknowledgment of his assistance, a present was sent to him every three years, of a small supply of arms and ammunition. Abdallah's death was, however, at length brought about, after suffering numerous hardships, by the treacherous and cruel treatment of an emissary from Madagascar, or one of the more than half-savage chiefs of that island, into whose hands he at length fell.

This is not the place to enter at large into the subject of Madagascar history; but it will be sufficient to remark that the present queen of that country is a most cruel and tyrannical sovereign; that she sets little value

upon the lives or blood of her subjects, and that she is supposed to have poisoned her predecessor, the late King Radaman; further, that she did not succeed in winning the throne without sacrificing most of the chiefs who were opposed to her, and that she has since contrived to bring under her subjection many who were formerly independent governors, or chiefs, of the territory they severally occupied. Those who take an interest in missionary enterprises will also have heard of the dreadful cruelties she has exercised upon those unhappy men within her territories, most of whom were barbarously put to death, some in her own presence, and partly, it is said, by her own hand. Only one or two of them escaped from the island.

It was not unnatural, under these circumstances, that one or more of the chiefs of the island should have taken refuge in the neighbouring islands of Johanna and Mohilla. Accordingly, so long ago as 1828, a chief, called Raymanytek, who had been governor of an important province in Madagascar under the old king, and was said by some to be his brother, came over to Johanna with about one hundred followers, and represented to Sultan Abdallah that he had made his escape from his own country, through fear of the queen, who sought his life (probably he had tried to get possession of the chief authority himself), and that, as he understood the inhabitants of the Comoro Islands were allies of the English, *as well as himself*, he came there to beg for an asylum. There was something very suspicious in his story; but, nevertheless, Abdallah received him in a very friendly

manner, placing a house and lands at his disposal, and shewing him other civilities.

Probably, however, entertaining some mistrust of his new visiter, Abdallah sent an envoy to Bombay to make known the particulars of his arrival, and to ask whether the government would feel satisfied with his residence upon the islands under his dominion. He suspected, no doubt, that the new chief might soon become a troublesome visiter, and was anxious to endeavour to secure some further assistance from Bombay, should he stand in need of it. It is likely, also, that he wished to obtain some information respecting the character of Raymanytek.

From Bombay reference was made to the government of the Mauritius upon the subject, as being better acquainted with the political state of Madagascar. In the mean time, the chief, not content with a residence in the neighbourhood of Sultan Abdallah, went to the opposite or southern side of the island, where he purchased a small native vessel, for the evident purpose of trading in slaves. The little craft made several voyages across to the coast of Africa; and, at length, Abdallah remonstrated with him upon the subject, and informed him that if this clandestine trade were not discontinued, he should make him leave the island altogether. To this no reply was made; and still the vessel went across to the coast, bringing back, on one occasion, nearly two hundred slaves. Many of these were probably re-exported to other parts.

Abdallah hereupon ordered his disobedient visiter

immediately to quit the island, upon the ground that the slave-trade could not be permitted within his territory, the more particularly as he was bound by treaty with the English to prevent it in every way he could.

To this summons Raymanytek made no other reply than to bring all his followers together armed, and, by means of bribery and fair promises, to enlist in his cause some of the poorer inhabitants in his neighbourhood, and also to arm as many of his negro slaves as he could prevail upon, and who appeared trustworthy. Money seemed at all times to be at his command, and he is said to have brought a well-filled purse with him when he landed from Madagascar. With the force he had now collected, he made an unexpected descent upon the capital of the island, which, being unprepared, was, of course, unable to resist him. The consternation was general, in addition to which, his money is believed to have influenced some of the people to remain quiet.

Almost immediately the old Sultan Abdallah was deposed, and his brother Ali took the chief power into his hands. Abdallah, with all the rest of his family, left the island, with the hope of being able to find an opportunity of reaching some English port, where he might represent his case, and ask for assistance. He reached the island of Comoro in safety; but what became of him afterwards, until he was ultimately put to death with extreme barbarity, as before stated, I have hitherto not been able to ascertain.

During this short interval, Raymanytek had been able to get possession of the arms belonging to Abdallah, and which I have stated were supplied every two or three

years by the government of Bombay, as a recompence for his friendly assistance when needed; and, having burnt and ruined the greater part of the town, and completely destroyed the crops and plantations in the neighbourhood, he embarked on board his little vessel, and, taking with him all that he could conveniently carry away of any value, he withdrew to the island of Mohilla, and established himself there in a position easy of defence; all the subsequent efforts of the rightful authorities to turn him out were of no avail.

This man must have been supplied by some means or other with abundance of ammunition; and it is not unlikely that his speculations in the slave-trade, by means of his own vessel, may have supplied him not only with money, but also with warlike weapons and ammunition. It is well surmised, too, that he received assistance direct from Madagascar at various times; and it must not be forgotten that the nine or ten years which elapsed between the commencement of these occurrences and the visit of the Nemesis was a period particularly fraught with difficulties in relation to the traffic in slaves, and that it appears, *primâ facie*, highly probable that this marauding rebel may have been strongly encouraged, and even aided, in his attempts, by distant parties interested in the traffic. Indeed, unless some assistance of this kind had been furnished to him, it is difficult to see how he could so long have found means to maintain himself.

The sultan applied for assistance on several occasions to the governments of the Mauritius, of the Cape, and of Bombay. The letter of the young Sultan Alloué, after the death of his father, in 1836, addressed to the

governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and to the admiral of the station, asking for assistance, was a really pathetic appeal to their good feelings. It detailed the horrors of poor old Abdallah's death, and the violent acts of the invader; it related the defenceless state in which he found himself on taking the reins into his hands; and then appealed to British generosity, in return for the faithful adhesion of his family to Great Britain, and the hospitality of his people towards all British subjects.

The answer on that occasion was prompt, and worthy of the cause, namely, "that in consequence of the difficulties in which the sultan of Johanna was placed, and in consideration of the fidelity with which the late Sultan Abdallah had fulfilled his engagements for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the hospitality which he had on all occasions shewn to British vessels touching at Johanna, the governor and admiral readily yield to the earnest desire of the Sultan Alloué for the aid of arms and ammunition, and send an ample supply thereof to Johanna in one of his majesty's sloops of war," &c.

With this assistance, Alloué was once more able to make head for the time against his enemy. But the country still continued in a very unsettled state; and, as the assistance was only temporary, he again fell into extreme difficulty, and addressed himself to the governor of the Mauritius upon the subject. Sir William Nicolai, who was governor and commander-in-chief of that island at the time, referred the application to the consideration of the home government. But it would seem that some little intrigues had sprung up among the sultan's own

family, which it is not very easy, and so far very unimportant, to fathom.

The Sultan Alloué's uncle, Seyd Abbas, had about the same time sent two young men, either his sons or nephews, to the Mauritius, to report the unhappy state of the island, and to request assistance in support of the actual Sultan Alloué. Not long afterwards, two or three other young men arrived at the Mauritius, also bearing letters from Seyd Abbas to the same purport. As this man was thought to be well disposed towards the English, and had been favourably spoken of by all those who had visited the island, and as, moreover, his object seemed to be the laudable one of trying to support the young sultan's authority, even though without his highness's acknowledged sanction, it was judged proper to maintain all these young men at the public expence, until an opportunity should offer for sending them back again. After the lapse of some months, a vessel was hired on purpose to carry them back; and it was, at the same time, distinctly intimated that, "however praiseworthy the intentions of Seyd Abbas may have been in sending his own relations from home as political messengers, and however high he may stand personally in the respect of Englishmen, it would in future be impossible for British authorities to maintain political correspondence with him or with any other person in Johanna than his highness the sultan of the island." The sultan was further recommended henceforth to give Seyd Abbas a share of his confidence in his councils, in consequence of his age and experience, and the apparent sincerity with which

he espoused his interests; and, at the same time, "the young men were recommended to his notice as very sensible and well-informed persons." The friendly interest and intentions of the government towards the sultan and people of Johanna were then in general terms expressed; and thus, with kind words and kinder hopes for better days for his subjects, the young sultan was left for the present to take care of himself.

It was only a few months before the arrival of the Nemesis that some of the events which have been recorded had occurred. The sultan Alloué was still in extreme danger; and another letter was addressed by him to the governor of the Mauritius, only about five months previously. It appears to have been remarkably well written, and contains some ingenious observations which, as being written by a young Moorish prince, the ruler of an island in a remote corner of the globe, under circumstances of great difficulty, it may be worth while to dwell upon for a moment.

He thanks his excellency the governor of the Mauritius for the kindness he had shown to the young men, whom he admits to be distantly related to him; but shrewdly remarks that their "clandestine departure from Johanna, *contrary* to his express orders, and during the night, had given him reason to suppose that they were not quite so friendly disposed towards him as they wished his excellency to believe: and that he feared the object of their journey had been a pecuniary speculation upon the governor's goodness and British hospitality." He proceeds to express his thanks for being apprized that persons had entertained political correspondence

with English authorities without his knowledge or consent; and adds, that, although he fully concurs in his excellency's opinions with regard to the age and experience of his uncle, Seyd Abbas, still there are many others in Johanna who possess the same qualities, and whose attachment and loyalty he had *never had occasion to doubt.*

The suspicion here betrayed is self-evident, and sufficiently delicately expressed. The picture he then draws of the state of his country is a pitiable one for a prince himself to be obliged to depict—"the town burnt; the country ravaged; all our cattle killed by the chief, Raymanytek, aided by natives of Mohilla, under his orders." He distinctly intimates that the rebel chief was receiving "assistance from the French;" and, although he does not state reasonable grounds for the assertion, the statement is not altogether an improbable one, considering that the abolition of slavery in the Mauritius had roused the feelings of the French population against us and our allies: and, moreover, slavery was still in existence in the neighbouring island of Bourbon, where strong feelings against the English had been undisguisedly avowed; while, at the same time, the difficulty of procuring fresh slaves had greatly raised their price.

Intrigues were thought to have been carried on by the French traders in Madagascar itself, where they have long attempted to obtain a footing, but with little success, owing to the deadly nature of the climate. It is, however, perfectly well known that they are still anxious to strain every nerve to establish themselves in some place to the eastward of the Cape, in addition to

the island of Bourbon, where there is no harbour whatever, but merely an open roadstead. They are, moreover, anxious to get some *point d'appui* whence they may injure British trade, in case of war in that quarter; and, at the same time, by establishing a little colony of their own, find some means of augmenting their mercantile marine.

One of their latest attempts has been at the Isle Madame; and it is perfectly well known that several other efforts have been made, and still more talked about.

If, however, Raymanytek really did receive any foreign assistance, it is not probable that it was with the knowledge or connivance of the government of Bourbon, but rather from the restless enterprise of private individuals interested in the slave-trade. However that may be, there seems to be very good grounds for our hoping that the Sultan Alloué may be permitted to remain in the peaceable possession of his own rightful territories. It is our evident interest to prevent those fine islands from falling into any other hands, more especially now that the intercourse between the West and East, through the Mozambique channel, is likely to be more extensive than formerly; and that the opening for legitimate commerce, within the channel itself, cannot but attract the attention of British merchants. The trade in slaves will become yearly more difficult; and, indeed, nothing would tend more to cause its total downfall than the gradual extension, under proper government protection, of the legitimate trade in British manufactures along that coast.

The young Sultan Alloué further went on to declare in his letter that numbers of his people had been captured

and taken to Mozambique and Zansibar, where they *were sold into slavery;* and that several such cargoes had already been sent over. He begged earnestly that assistance might speedily be sent to him, in arms and ammunition, and that he particularly stood in need of lead and flints, and a couple of small field-pieces. At the same time, he entreated that some small vessel of war might be sent to his aid; for that such were his difficulties, that, unless speedy assistance should arrive, he feared that he should be driven to abandon the town, and seek personally an asylum in British India. He then appealed to the magnanimity of the British government, in the hope that he and his people might not be compelled to abandon their homes for want of timely assistance.[1]

Such, then, was the unhappy situation of the beautiful little island of Johanna, as described by its own prince, only a few months before the unexpected visit of the Nemesis. Little change had taken place; the town still held out, but it does not appear that any assistance had been sent to it. The very sight of the steamer gladdened the young sultan's heart, and encouraged the people, who stood greatly in need of it; the

[1] The sultan very recently went up to Calcutta, to apply to the Governor-general, in the hope that the Company might be induced to take possession of the islands, which he felt he could no longer hold without assistance. He merely asked for himself a small annual stipend out of the revenues. What answer he may have received is not known; but probably his application was rejected, upon the ground of our territory in the East being already quite large enough. But, in reality, the Comoro Islands, or at least a part of them, must be viewed in a *political* light, as they may be said to command the *navigation* of the straits, and are generally thought to be an object aimed at by the French.

rebel chief being then at only a short distance from the town.

Late as it was, the captain and first officer landed in uniform, to wait upon the sultan at once, as their time was so limited. One of his uncles and his prime-minister received them, and accompanied them through a few narrow streets, built in the Moorish style, to the sultan's palace. At the entrance were stationed four half-clad soldiers, with muskets, as a personal guard; and, on reaching the reception-room, the sultan was discovered sitting on a high-backed chair, at the further end of the apartment. He immediately rose, and advanced towards them in a very friendly manner, welcoming them to Johanna with a good, hearty shake by the hand. Two chairs were placed on his left, for his guests; while, on his right, sat the governor of the town, and several other of the principal people, all on the tiptoe of expectation for the news from England; the more particularly as they were in some hope that the strange-looking "*devil-ship*," as they called her, might have brought a letter from the English government, in answer to his application for assistance.

They were doomed, however, to be again disappointed; but the sultan made many inquiries about the Queen and Prince Albert, and whether an heir to the throne had yet been born; and seemed not a little curious to know if the Thames Tunnel was finished. In short, he appeared to be a very well-bred and courteous young man. He alluded painfully to the distressed state of the island, and to his being surrounded by his enemies under Raymanytek; and begged hard for at least a little powder

and shot, with which to endeavour to hold out until better assistance could reach him.

As it was already quite late, the interview did not last long, but promises were made to renew it on the subsequent day, and a party was arranged for an excursion outside the town on the following morning. Accordingly, at daylight, the party were again met by the king's uncle on the beach, who appointed three soldiers to act both as guides and guards. These men appeared quite pleased with the duty assigned to them, and throughout the whole trip did every thing in their power to amuse the party, and to point out to them the objects best worth notice: one man went in search of shells upon the beach, another to procure fruit, and scarcely a wish was expressed that was not immediately gratified.

Before they ascended the higher hills in the rear of the town, they visited the so-called Gardens, about a mile and a half from the town, situated at the bottom of a very rich and refreshing valley, near the sea-shore. There were an abundance of cocoa-nut-trees, fruit-trees, and picturesque shrubs, but little else at present that could entitle them to be called gardens. But one important observation was made, namely, that the best water was to be obtained there, from a small, clear, running stream, from which it could be easily taken, close to the beach; and also that the best anchorage in the bay was a little way off this spot, and not opposite the town, as had been supposed. The vicinity of good water gives it an additional recommendation.

Having ascended the hills on the eastern side of the valley, they were gratified by a delightful prospect in

every direction. The valley below was rich and capable of high cultivation, but only partially cleared of wood, and in other parts covered with long grass and low shrubs, varied by the numerous wild flowers which were then in blossom. In the rear were high and thickly-wooded mountains, picturesque in themselves, but shutting out the view of the opposite side of the island, while, in the other direction, the eye could trace the long line of picturesque coast, giving altogether a very favourable impression of the character of the island, the more particularly as some of the timber is very fine, and calculated for repairing ships.

The town itself could only be viewed from the top of a higher hill behind it, which was now ascended, and its character well made out. Its little white flat-topped houses and turreted walls, with very narrow streets, pointed out its Moorish origin. But there was nothing to render it otherwise striking.

The whole population appeared to be abroad, each struggling which should gratify his curiosity the quickest, in running down to the beach to catch a glimpse of the strange vessel, the like of which none had ever seen before. Boats were seen crowding round her on all sides, and, as she lay there, decked out with all her flags, the scene was both animated and picturesque.

On descending the hill, the party were again met by the sultan's uncle, who invited them to breakfast with his highness, and accompanied them, first to his own house, where they met the sultan himself, and thence to the palace, which was close at hand. But it was still rather an early hour for a reception, and on entering

the palace, it was very evident that the preparations had not yet been completed for their arrival. His highness's ladies, the sultana and her companions, had only just time to make their escape, leaving every thing in disorder, and, in short, breakfast was not quite ready.

His highness was very condescending, but it was clear that his attentions were being divided between two or more objects at the same time, one of which was readily guessed to be the ladies fair, who had so suddenly decamped. But this was not the only one, and, in the little intervals between his exits and his entrances, an opportunity was taken to ask his uncle, who was present, what it was all about. The mystery was solved. His highness was condescending to superintend the preparation of the breakfast for his guests, that it might be worthy of them. The kitchen was on this occasion converted into the council-chamber, and quite as weighty matters there discussed, and certainly with equal warmth, and probably, too, with the full "ore rotundo" of hungry eloquence, as are often treated of with greater solemnity in higher conclaves.

The result, indeed, was worthy of the cause. The breakfast was pronounced capital, and ample justice done, after the morning's walk, to the wisdom of his highness's deliberations. He himself seemed quite delighted; and his uncle declared, in his absence, that the young man's greatest pleasure was to contrive some new means of gratifying the English who came in his way, and that there was nothing he would not condescend to do for them, in his enthusiastic admiration of the nation. A little of this might be said and done for

effect, but there has always been good reason to believe that he was on all occasions a sincere, and, in some respects, useful ally.

The same day, a grand entertainment was to be given by some relation of the sultan's, in his uncle's house, in honour of the performance of the first Mohammedan right upon the young infant, his son and heir, upon the eighth day after its birth. The sultan himself, with his chief minister, accompanied them to see the festivities. On this occasion, the ladies of the court were all found to be in the apartment adjoining the reception-room, and only separated from it by a large screen or curtain before the door. Now, according to all the prescribed rules of civilized life, it may reasonably be supposed that the fair damsels, secluded as they usually were, had just as much curiosity to see the lions of the day, the English officers in uniform, as the latter had to catch a glimpse of eastern beauty, the more sought the more forbidden. Every now and then, you could see the curtain moved gently on one side, and a young lady's head peep out; and then another would steal a quiet look on the other side; then again, by pressing against each other, more of them would be seen than they intended, but quite enough to make you wish to see more still. In the mean time his highness had retired, or perhaps they might not have been so bold.

As the gallantry of the sons of Neptune has at all times been famous, so in this instance it innocently got the better of their discretion, and, with an apparently accidental though well-premeditated charge at the curtain, which was most gallantly pushed on one side, a

full view of all the fair ladies was obtained, much more to the apparent horror of the old uncle, who was a spectator of the achievement, than to that of the fair damsels themselves, who, nevertheless, quietly retreated in some trepidation. The ladies were all very handsomely and gaudily dressed, it being a gala-day, but they were not altogether the most Venus-like of beauties.

But a more curious scene was brought to view, on being conducted to another apartment, where a large and merry party of ladies of less distinguished rank were amusing themselves with dancing and singing, but certainly without much grace in the one, or melody in the other. There was only one good-looking female among the whole assembly, and she appeared to be the queen of beauty, or mistress of the feast, for she was treated with the utmost attention and deference by all the rest.

On returning again to the presence of the sultan, refreshments were handed round, and, as the weather was hot, a whole train of the female servants of the house were ushered into the room, each with a fan, or sort of portable punka, in her hand. They were all very neatly and cleanly dressed, and immediately set their fans most dexterously to work, taking their stations behind each person of the party, and fanning gently as if a host of little zephyrs had stolen away from fairy lands, to breathe their cooling breezes on the guests. The scene was certainly novel, and withal amusing.

In the midst of this scene the sultan disappeared, followed by his uncle, and, after a few minutes' consultation, the attendance of Captain Hall was requested in

his highness's private apartment. Something important was evidently about to happen, but, before there was much time to conjecture what it might be, he found himself alone with the sultan. His highness frankly confessed the alarm which the strength of the chief Raymanytek had excited in his mind, that he was even then not far from the town, and that he himself was determined at once to march out against the rebels, if he could get a sufficient supply of powder and shot. At the same time, he begged that if necessary he might have the assistance of the steamer to protect his town.

Only one reply could be given, namely, that the visit of the steamer was a mere casual thing, with a view to ascertain the nature of the harbour; that the service she was engaged on would admit of no delay; but that, as long as she was there, which could not be many hours more, she should give protection to himself and his family, as well as to the town, if in danger, and that a small supply of ammunition should be given to him to enable him to defend himself. He appeared quite satisfied, and pleased with the reply. At the same time, as the danger was imminent, and much blood might otherwise be shed, he requested that, since the orders by which the steamer was obliged to abide would necessitate her immediate departure, the British flag might be hoisted upon his citadel before she started, and receive the proper salute, in order to intimidate the rebel chief; and further, that a letter might be written to the latter, stating that the sultan of Johanna was an old ally of Great Britain; and that the taking up arms against him could no longer be permitted; in short, that he had, there-

fore, better take himself off as quickly as possible, and return to obedience.

This was a request which demanded very serious consideration. It was evident that Captain Hall had no authority whatever to interfere in the matter. And such, consequently, would have been the only reply of many officers, perhaps most, under the same circumstances. But, there was now something of humanity called into play, something of pity, and something, perhaps, of pride. It was impossible not to feel a deep interest in the unhappy position of the young sultan, more particularly as he and all his family had on so many occasions behaved with kindness and humanity towards Englishmen in distress. He had, moreover, stated his positive wish to become not only the ally, but even the subject of Great Britain, and that he would rather give up the island altogether to the English, and, if necessary, retire from it elsewhere, than see it in its then state of misery from the incursions of Raymanytek.

There was, in fact, something in Alloué's appeal which was altogether irresistible; and after much reflection, and well knowing the responsibility incurred, it was agreed that the British flag should be hoisted upon the citadel, under a salute of twenty-one guns. This was accordingly done, and, for the first time, the flag, which so many millions look upon with pride, waved over the citadel and walls of Johanna. The sultan smiled, and appeared to take far greater pride in that unstained ensign, than in his own independent flag, or his own precarious authority.

Great were the rejoicings of the whole people of the

town; in fact, the day had been one of continued excitement to all parties. To crown the whole, a letter was written to the rebel chief, according to the tenor of what has been stated above, and which it was hoped would induce Raymanytek to retire peaceably for the present, and to defer to an opportunity less favourable for himself, if not altogether to forego, his treasonable designs, which had evidently been to depose the sultan, and probably put him to death, and banish all his family, assuming the whole authority himself in his place.

This had been a long and eventful day for the Nemesis, and, while we have been relating what was passing on shore, those on board had been busy taking in water and wood for the immediate continuance of the voyage. One thing, however, yet remained; the sultan was to visit the ship, and see what to him were wonders. He came on board in the afternoon, with several attendants, in full Moorish dress, and, of course, evinced the utmost astonishment at the arrangement of the ship, the machinery, &c. To him and his followers all was new. As they steamed round the bay, their wonderment increased more and more at the ease and rapidity with which she moved; and, having partaken of a little fruit and bread, and taken a most friendly and, to all appearance, grateful leave of all on board, he was landed in the ship's boat, with his own flag flying upon it.

On landing, he seemed quite overwhelmed with thankfulness for the timely assistance rendered to him, and unaffectedly sorry at parting with friends he had so recently made. What the subsequent fate of the island

was we have as yet no means of ascertaining, communication being extremely rare.

Just before parting, the young sultan gave Captain Hall a letter under his own seal, acknowledging the present of powder, &c., and expressive of his thankfulness for the assistance he had received. It was very prettily written in the Arabic language.

On the afternoon of the 5th September, 1840, the interesting little island of Johanna was left behind, with many good wishes for the success of the sultan's arms, and for the speedy restoration of peace and plenty to his harassed subjects. It is feared, however, that these hopes have scarcely yet been realized.

CHAPTER IX.

The Maldive Archipelago — Island of Feawar — Trade with India — Arrival at Ceylon — "Mystery" at an end — Notices of the Island — Columbo — Fishing boats — Curious contrivance — Departure — Penang — Spice Productions — The "Gem of the East" — Picturesque Character — Projected naval depôt — Singapore — Advantageous position for commerce — Importance of free ports — Increase of trade — Chinese population — A colonizing people — Aspect of town — Departure — Pedro Branco — Its dangers — Good site for Lighthouse to the memory of Horsburgh — Monsoons — Island of Manilla — Spanish Colonies — Lieu-chew Islands — Basil Hall's description — Arrival of the Nemesis at Macao — Surprise of the People — Visit to the Governor — Joins the squadron under the Honourable George Elliot at the mouth of the Canton river.

The next place of destination towards which the Nemesis was to shape her course was the island of Ceylon, where at length was to be made known to her the ultimate service upon which she was to be employed. Owing to contrary winds and opposing currents, her progress was, for the first few days, very slow. In order to save fuel, on account of the distance and probable length of the voyage, she proceeded principally under canvass. But the south-westerly current was found to be so strong as to retard her progress considerably; and it was not until the 10th that she lost sight of Comoro Island, the northernmost of the group

of that name, and, if measured in a direct line, considerably less than one hundred miles from Johanna.

A little to the northward of this, the south-east monsoon began to be felt, and she proceeded more favourably, and crossed the Line on the morning of the 17th, in about longitude east 54°. Horsburgh particularly notices the light, baffling winds, and the strong south-west and southerly currents, which prevail during the months of October and November among the Comoro Islands. But it was found, upon this voyage, that these difficulties presented themselves sometimes much earlier than stated by him. It was now only the beginning of September, and the southerly current was found setting down at the rate of even sixty miles a day. Indeed, both the winds and currents in the Mozambique Channel had been found very different from what had been expected. It was the season of the south-west monsoon when she entered it in the month of August; and as it is usually stated that this wind continues to blow until early in November, the Nemesis ought to have had favourable winds to carry her quite through, even later in the season. On the contrary, she met with a strong head-wind, and a much stronger southerly current than she had reason to expect.

The opinion of Horsburg seems to be fully confirmed, that late in the season it is better for ships to avoid the Mozambique Channel, and rather to proceed to the eastward of Madagascar, and then pass between Diego Garcia and the Seychelle Islands. Steamers, however, would have less need of this were coal to be had at Mozambique, but the Nemesis had taken in no coal

since she left the Cape of Good Hope in July; and, although she was fortunate enough to procure a small supply of wood, still, from its greater bulk, she could not carry so many days' fuel of it as she could of coal. It was important, moreover, to reserve the coal she had remaining, for any case of emergency that might arise, and which could not be foreseen. On leaving Johanna she had only twenty-five tons of coal on board, (very little more than two days' consumption) besides a little wood. It was, therefore, requisite to be very sparing in its use; and she consequently made almost no use of her engines until four days after she crossed the Line, and even then only for a few hours.

From the equator the current was always easterly; but nothing particular occurred worth noticing, except that, as she approached the Maldive Islands, she encountered very heavy squalls, accompanied with rain.

On the following day, the 1st October, the Maldives were in sight; and, in order to carry her through them rapidly, steam was got up for a few hours, until she came to, in the afternoon, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, under one of the easternmost of the islands, named Feawar, having shaped her course straight across the middle of the long, and until lately, much dreaded group of the Maldive Archipelago.

This extensive chain or archipelago of islands lies in the very centre of the Indian Ocean, and, being placed in the direct track of ships coming from the south-west towards Ceylon, and the southern parts of Hindostan, it was long dreaded by mariners, and shunned by them as an almost impenetrable and certainly dangerous

barrier. It is stated by Horsburgh, that the early traders from Europe to India were much better acquainted with these islands than modern navigators, and that they were often passed through in those days without any apprehension of danger. The knowledge of their navigable channels must therefore have been, in a great measure, lost; and, although the utmost credit is due to the indefatigable Horsburgh for his arduous efforts to restore some of the lost information, it is to the liberality of the Indian government, and particularly to the scientific labours and distinguished services of Captain Moresby and Commander Powell, of the Indian Navy, that we are indebted for the minute and beautiful surveys of all these intricate channels which have been given to the world since 1835.

This archipelago is divided into numerous groups of islands, called by the natives Atolls, each comprising a considerable number of islands, some of which are inhabited, and abound in cocoa-nut trees, while the smaller ones are often mere barren rocks or sandy islets. The number of these islands, large and small, amounts to several hundred; and the groups, or Atolls, into which they are divided, are numerous. They are laid down with wonderful accuracy and minuteness by Captains Moresby and Powell; so that, with the aid of their charts, the intricate channels between them can be read with almost the same facility as the type of a book. Thus one of the greatest boons has been conferred upon navigators of all nations. They are disposed in nearly a meridian line from latitude 7° 6′ N. to latitude 0° 40′ S., and consequently extend over the hottest portion of the

tropics, for the distance of more than three hundred and seventy miles.

As the Nemesis passed through these islands, she found that all the former difficulties had now vanished. So accurate were the soundings, and given on so large a scale, that it was more like reading a European road-book than guiding a vessel through an intricate labyrinth of islands.

The very sight of a steamer completely frightened the inhabitants of the little island of Feawar; who, although they at length came alongside without much fear, could never be persuaded to come on board the vessel. However, they had no objection to act as guides, for the purpose of showing what was to be seen upon their island; and, while a little necessary work was being done to the vessel, two or three of the officers landed, and were soon surrounded by a crowd of natives upon the beach, quite unarmed.

A stroll along the shore, covered with pieces of coral, soon brought them to a mosque and burial-ground, which was remarkable for the neatness with which it was disposed. The little ornamented head-stones, with inscriptions, and flowers in many places planted round them, probably refreshed by the sacred water of a well close at hand, proved, at all events, the great respect paid to their dead, which is common among all Mohammedans. Indeed, the inhabitants of all these numerous islands are mostly of that persuasion, and consider themselves to be under the protection of England, the common wish of almost all the little independent tribes of the east.

The village itself appeared to be at least half deserted, the poor people, particularly the women, having hastily run away, leaving their spinning-wheels at their doors. They appear to carry their produce, consisting of oil, fish, rope, mats, &c. to Ceylon and other parts of India, in large boats of their own construction, bringing back in return rice and English manufactured goods. Indeed, an extensive traffic is carried on between all the northernmost of this extensive chain of islands, or submarine mountains, and the nearer parts of the coast of India.

On the same evening, the Nemesis continued her voyage, and, on the afternoon of the 5th October, reached the harbour of Pointe de Galle, in Ceylon. She came in under steam, with about eight tons of coal remaining, having been exactly one month from Johanna.

The mystery attending the Nemesis was now to end. Scarcely had she fairly reached her moorings, when a despatch was delivered to the captain from the government of India, containing orders from the Governor-general in council, to complete the necessary repairs, and take in coal and provisions, with all possible expedition, and then to proceed to join the fleet off the mouth of the Canton River, placing himself under the orders of the naval Commander-in-chief.

Great was now the rejoicing of both officers and men. Her captain had already been made acquainted with his destination, as far as Ceylon, before leaving England, but no one on board, until now, had any certain information as to what particular service they were to undertake afterwards. The road to distinction was now made

known to them: they were at once to be engaged in active operations, in conjunction with her majesty's forces. All regretted the length of time unavoidably spent upon the voyage out, and none but wished the intervening distance between Ceylon and China could be passed with railroad speed.

Many were now the hopes and airy castles conjured up to the mind's vision; many the speculations as to the probable course of the dispute with China, then openly expanding into the complicated net of war; and not few the wishes secretly felt, and scarce confessed, that Chinese obstinacy might still hold out a little longer, and the duplicity of Chinese statesmen again give necessity for the active interference of an armed force.

Notwithstanding, however, the unremitted exertions of all on board, the Nemesis could not be got ready to proceed on her voyage in less than eight clear days from the time of her arrival at Pointe de Galle. The decks had to be caulked throughout, there having been no proper means for completing this very necessary process at any earlier period; and numerous other repairs were required to be made before she could proceed on her voyage. Added to this, the whole of the stores and supplies had to be sent by land from Columbo, a distance of seventy-two miles, as it was not then so well known that all these things could be readily obtained at Singapore, and that therefore a smaller quantity would have sufficed. Indeed, from the more frequent communication with Ceylon, through vessels touching at Pointe de Galle for supplies, which has since taken place, every provision has now been made at that port, without the

necessity of sending for stores to so great a distance as Columbo.

Under all circumstances, no time was to be lost; and the anxiety to proceed on the voyage as quickly as possible was so great, that Captain Hall determined to start off for Columbo the same evening, in order to wait upon his Excellency the Governor, and expedite the sending on of the requisite stores. A highly-respectable merchant, who was going over, kindly offered him a seat in his gig, and, after considerable exertion and fatigue, they arrived at Columbo late on the following evening.

They had some evidence that the road was not always perfectly safe; for they had proceeded only a very few miles from Ponte de Galle, when they found a wounded man upon the road, who had just been robbed, and left there helpless. A crowd of natives soon came round, detailing what had happened; but, as very little of what they said could be understood, little attention was paid to it. The wounded man having been carried on to a police station, and there left, the journey was continued till after dark.

On the following morning, the country presented itself in all the rich tropical aspect of these regions. The whole road to Columbo pointed out a fertile and luxuriant country, and was in itself admirably adapted for travelling.

Once arrived at Columbo, and fairly lodged in Mr. Gibb's hospitable mansion, all the comforts and luxuries of the East were at once exhibited, and recalled to mind the early days spent in that part of the globe. The view was lovely, vegetation luxuriant, and the famed cin-

namon-trees and coffee-plants in full perfection, besides a number of beautiful shrubs.

For my own part, the more I have seen of tropical countries, the more I have everywhere been fascinated by their luxuriance, and enjoyed the brilliancy of their skies. There is much to compensate for the occasional oppression of the heat, which, after all, is less troublesome or injurious than the chilling blasts of northern climes; and, generally speaking, with proper *precaution*, it has been hardly a question with myself whether the *average* degree of health and buoyancy of spirits is not far greater than in less favoured though more hardy regions. Every day that passes is one in which you feel that you really live, for everything around you lives and thrives so beautifully. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that, after a few years spent in so relaxing a climate, the constitution becomes enfeebled, and is only to be restored by a visit to more bracing regions.

His Excellency having been waited on, directions were instantly given, to provide whatever was requisite with the least possible delay; it was only to be regretted that the distance from Pointe de Galle was so great.

Governor Mackenzie seemed to take much interest in the steamer, and in her probable capabilities for the peculiar service likely to be required of her in China; he had evidently made the subject his study, and upon this, as upon other questions, evinced great intelligence.

Little need here be said about the island of Ceylon, which has been recently so well described and treated of by able and well-informed writers. The fine forti-

fications of Columbo (the capital of the island,) the governor's palace, the barracks and public offices, are all worth seeing; indeed, it is to be regretted that arrangements have not yet been made, by which the steamers from Calcutta to the Red Sea, touching at Pointe de Galle, might allow some of their passengers, instead of wasting the valuable time necessary for taking in fuel at Pointe de Galle, to cross over to Columbo. The steamers might then touch at Columbo to pick them up, together with other passengers likely to be found there, now that the overland route is daily becoming more frequented; she could pursue her voyage with very trifling additional expense, and very great convenience to the public. It is hoped that some arrangement of this sort may very shortly be brought about.

The most curious sight at Columbo is the little fleet of fishing-boats, in the shape of long, narrow canoes, each made out of the single trunk of a tree, with upper works rigged on to them, falling in in such a way, that there is just sufficient room for a man's body to turn round. They start off with the land-wind in the morning, and run out a long distance to fish, returning again with the sea-breeze in the afternoon. Both ends are made exactly alike, so that, instead of going about, they have only to shift the large lug-sail, the mast being in the middle, and it is quite indifferent which end of the boat goes foremost. To counteract the natural tendency of so narrow a body to upset, two slight long spars are run out at the side, connected at the outer ends by a long and stout piece of wood, tapering at either extremity, not unlike a narrow canoe; this acts as a lever to keep

the boat upright, and is generally rigged out upon the windward side. If the breeze freshens, it is easy to send a man or two out upon it, as an additional counterpoise by their weight, and there they sit, without any apparent apprehension.

On the coast of Cochin China, about Cambodia, something of the same description is in use; but there the boats are much larger, being long and well made, with something of the latteen-rig; and commonly four or five men, almost naked, are to be seen sitting out, swinging their legs with apparent unconcern, upon a single long spar, or pole, run out to windward, to counterbalance the depressing power of the large sail, when the breeze is strong. It is altogether a curious and rather interesting sight.

The healthiness of Ceylon is within the last few years greatly improved, principally owing to the extensive clearing of land which has taken place. The plantations of coffee having been found at one time, as indeed they are still, to yield a very large profit, induced a great number of persons to enter into the speculation. Land was readily purchased from government as quickly as it could be obtained, at the rate of five shillings an acre; and the result has been a considerable increase in the exports of the island, as well as an amelioration of its condition.

Coals, provisions, and stores of all kinds were sent on board the Nemesis with the utmost expedition, and, on the afternoon of the 14th October, she was once more ready for sea. The public interest in the events gradually growing up out of the negociations which were then being carried on with the Chinese had gradually been

raised to a high pitch, and a passage to China, to join the force as a volunteer, was readily provided for the governor's son, Lieutenant Mackenzie. Crowds of people gathered upon the shore in all directions to witness her departure, and the discharge of a few signal-rockets as soon as it was dark added a little additional novelty to the event.

Ten days sufficed to carry the Nemesis to the island of Penang, or Prince of Wales's island. Her passage had been longer than might have been expected, owing in a great measure to the badness of the coal, which caked and clogged up the furnaces in such a way that, instead of requiring to be cleaned out only once in about twenty-four hours, as would have been the case with good coal, it was necessary to perform this process no less than four times within the same period; added to which, the enormous quantity of barnacles which adhered to her bottom (a frequent source of annoyance before) greatly retarded her progress.

The island of Penang, which lies close upon the coast of the peninsula of Malacca, from which it is separated by a channel scarcely more than two miles broad, would seem to be a place particularly adapted for steamers to touch at. Indeed, it has become a question of late whether it should not be provided with a sort of government dockyard, for the repair of the increased number of ships of war and transports, belonging both to the service of government and the East India Company, which will necessarily have to pass through the straits of Malacca, now that our intercourse with China is so rapidly increasing. The harbour is perfectly safe, the

water at all times smooth, coals can easily be stored there, and good wood can be obtained on the spot; moreover, it lies directly in the track of ships, or very little out of it, as they generally prefer passing on the Malacca side of the straits, particularly during the south-west monsoon. The heavy squalls which prevail on the opposite coast are so severe, that they have at length taken its very name, and are called Sumatras. They are accompanied with terrific lightning, which often does great mischief, and they are justly looked upon with great dread.

Penang is very properly considered one of the loveliest spots in the eastern world, considering its limited extent; and, from the abundance and excellence of its spice productions, which come to greater perfection in the straits than in any other part in which they have been tried (except, perhaps, in the island of Java), this little island has proved to be an extremely valuable possession. It abounds in picturesque scenery, heightened by the lovely views of the opposite coast of Malacca, called Province Wellesley, which also belongs to the East India Company. The numerous and excellent roads, the hospitality of the inhabitants, and the richness of the plain, or belt, which lies between the high, wooded mountains in the rear, and the town and harbour, are, perhaps, unequalled. This plain, together with the sides of some of the adjoining mountains, is covered with luxuriant plantations of nutmegs, cocoa-nut-trees, and spice-trees of all kinds; and altogether Penang is one of the most attractive, as it is also one of the healthiest spots in the east. It has by some been even called

the "Gem of the Eastern Seas;" although the smallness of its extent diminishes its importance. There is a fort not far from the fine, covered jetty, or landing-place, of considerable strength; and, with very moderate trouble and expense, there is little doubt that Penang could be made a valuable naval depôt.

During the short period the Nemesis was detained at Penang, she was laid upon a fine, hard bank of sand, nearly dry at low water, for the purpose of examining the state of her hull. Here again a large collection of barnacles was found adhering to her, as described on a former occasion, and they were not removed without much labour. She was then thoroughly painted, and was soon ready to proceed on her voyage.

The short passage down the straits of Malacca, towards Singapore, was easily performed in three days. But here again, notwithstanding the anxiety of all on board to reach the scene of future operations (concerning which there was no longer any "mystery") with the least possible delay, some detention was inevitable. The north-east monsoon had already fairly set in, and as vessels proceeding up the China sea, at this season, would have the wind directly against them, it was necessary that the steamer should take in the greatest possible quantity of fuel she could carry, before she could venture to leave Singapore. On this occasion, every spare corner that could be found was filled with coal, and even the decks were almost covered with coal-bags. By this means, she was enabled to carry enough fuel for full fifteen days' consumption, or about one hundred and seventy-five tons.

A few short remarks on Singapore may not be uninteresting, before we proceed to describe the more stirring scenes which follow, and which brought so much distinction to the Nemesis. The small island of Singapore, being situated just off the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca, from which it is separated only by a very narrow strait, must necessarily lie almost directly in the track of all vessels passing up or down the straits of Malacca, either to or from China, or any of the intermediate places. Being easy of access to all the numerous half-civilized tribes and nations which inhabit the islands of those seas, and within the influence of the periodical winds or monsoons which, at certain seasons, embolden even the Chinese, Siamese, and other nations to venture upon the distant voyage, it is not surprising that in the space of a few years it should have risen to a very high degree of importance as a commercial emporium.

The wisdom of the policy of Sir Stamford Raffles, in establishing a free port in such an advantageous position, has been proved beyond all previous anticipation. The perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, without any restriction or charges of any kind, has given birth to a yearly increasing commercial spirit among all the surrounding nations. It is impossible to see the immense number of curious junks and trading-vessels which arrive from all parts during the proper season, without admiring the enterprising commercial spirit of all those different tribes, and acknowledging the immense value to England of similar distant outports, for the security and extension of her commerce.

The intercourse with Singapore has been rapidly increasing every year, but especially since the commencement of the war in China. Of course, all our ships of war and transports touch at so convenient a place, where supplies of every description can easily be obtained, and where every attention and kindness are shown to strangers, both by the authorities and by the resident merchants. Much credit is due to the late governor, Mr. Bonham, for the intelligence and activity which he exhibited, in every thing that could in any way forward the objects of the expedition, and for the readiness with which he endeavoured to meet all the wishes of those who were concerned in it. His hospitality and personal attention were acknowledged by all.

In some respects, Singapore forms a good introduction to a first visit to China. It has a very large Chinese population (not less than 20,000), to which yearly additions are made, on the arrival of the large trading junks, in which they come down voluntarily to seek employment. Hundreds of them arrive in the greatest destitution, without even the means of paying the boat-hire to enable them to reach the shore, until they are hired by some masters. They are the principal mechanics and labourers of the town, and also act as household servants, while many of them are employed in the cultivation of spices and of sugar, or in clearing land. There is no kind of labour or employment which a Chinaman will not readily undertake; and they appear to succeed equally well in all, with the exception of tending sheep or cattle, which is an occupation they are little fond of.

The town has something of a Chinese aspect, from

the number of Chinamen who are employed in every capacity; and the fruits and vegetables are principally cultivated and brought to market by people of that nation. In Java, Penang, and elsewhere, they are also to be met with in great numbers; which is quite sufficient to prove (were proof wanting) how much they are naturally disposed to become a colonizing people. There is hardly any part of the world to which a Chinaman would refuse to go, if led and managed by some of his own countrymen. But, wherever they go, they carry the vice of *opium-smoking* with them, and it is needless to say that it thrives at Singapore to its fullest extent, and that a large revenue is annually derived from the monopoly of the sale of the drug.

The climate of Singapore is healthy, although the soil is wet, owing to the constant rains; and the heat is, perhaps, never excessive, although the place is situated only about seventy miles from the equator.

It might be thought by many, that the recent opening of the new Chinese ports, from some of which large trading junks have annually come down to seek their cargoes at Singapore, would prove injurious to the future trade of the latter, since it would no longer be necessary for the Chinese to go abroad to seek for that which will now be brought to them at their own doors. This apprehension, however, seems to be little entertained on the spot, because there can be little doubt that whatever tends to augment the general foreign trade with China must benefit Singapore, which lies on the high-road to it, to a greater or less extent. Singapore has nothing to fear as regards its future commercial prosperity,

which is likely rather to increase than to diminish, in consequence of the general increase of trade with China and the neighbouring islands.

Enough has now been said concerning this interesting commercial settlement, which in a few years has become so famous in all parts of the world; and we must now again rejoin the Nemesis, as she fires her parting salute, and then stands away boldly towards that remarkable country in which her course of honour and distinction is now to be run.

On the 4th of November she resumed her voyage, and passed the little rocky island of Pedro Branco early on the following morning. This dangerous and sometimes half-covered rock lies nearly in the direct track for vessels proceeding up the China Sea; and on its southern side are two dangerous ledges or reefs, running out from it to the distance of more than a mile, which, at high water, can scarcely be traced above the surface. On the opposite or northern side there is deep water in not less than sixteen or seventeen fathoms, close in to the rock; and, moreover, the tides in its neighbourhood are very irregular, not only in point of time, but also in direction and velocity. Nor are these the only dangers to be met with in this locality. Hence it will readily appear that a lighthouse placed upon Pedro Branco would be of essential utility to all navigators who have occasion to pass up or down the China Sea. A ship leaving Singapore for Hong Kong, for instance, might then start at such an hour in the evening as would enable her to make the light on Pedro Branco before morning; by which means, her true position being ascer-

tained, she might stand on without fear of any danger. The expense of erecting the lighthouse would not be great, as the elevation would only be moderate, and the expense of maintaining it might be defrayed by levying a small light-duty at Singapore upon all vessels passing up or down the China Sea.

It has been often suggested that this would be a most advantageous site for the proposed monument to the memory of the distinguished Horsburgh, to whom too much honour cannot be paid for his inestimable works, so much relied on by all navigators who frequent the Eastern seas. It would be difficult to find a more advantageous or appropriate position, for the best of all monuments to his fame, than this little, dangerous island of Pedro Branco, situated as it is in the very centre of some of his most valued researches; while the recent opening of the new ports in China, and the possession of Hong Kong, give an increased importance to subjects connected with the navigation of those seas. There is not a single vessel, either British or foreign, which traverses those regions, which is not indebted to Horsburgh for the instructions which render her voyage secure; and a lighthouse upon Pedro Branco would do no less service to navigators than it would honour to the memory of Horsburgh.

The Nemesis had now passed this rocky little island, and at once found the full strength of the north-east monsoon blowing steadily against her, so that "full steam" was necessary to enable her to proceed. On the afternoon of the 16th, the high land of the Spanish possessions of Luconia (better known by the name of

the capital town, Manilla) came in sight; and, on the following morning, the Nemesis passed very near the port, but without venturing to enter it, on account of the delay which it would cause, although fuel was already much wanted.

An immense pile of wood was descried, laid up on the beach, near a village on the coast; and a boat was sent in, to endeavour to purchase it, but without success, as the Spaniards could not be persuaded to make any other answer than a sulky refusal.

The appearance of the island was very striking. Bold, picturesque mountains, fine woods, with here and there a few sugar-plantations extending along the valleys, and rich, green, cocoa-nut groves, to vary the prospect—all these combined, or alternating with each other, made the aspect of the island very attractive.

Unfortunately, no time could be spared to visit the interior of the country, as the voyage had already been much protracted, and the north-east monsoon was blowing directly against the vessel. Her progress was therefore slow, and the want of fuel began to be much felt.

On the 24th, the Lieu-chew islands came in sight, and recalled many interesting recollections to Captain Hall's mind, who had visited them, in early life, under the command of Captain Basil Hall, whose description of its inhabitants excited the greatest interest among the curious, and was almost disbelieved by the wonder-loving *fireside* traveller.

At daylight on the following morning, the 25th November, the Nemesis steamed through the Typa an-

chorage, which lies opposite Macao, and ran close in to the town, where the water is so shallow that none but trading-boats can venture so far. The sudden appearance of so large and mysterious-looking a vessel naturally excited the greatest astonishment among all classes, both of the Portuguese and Chinese residents. The saluting of the Portuguese flag, as she passed, sufficed to announce that something unusual had happened; and crowds of people came down to the Praya Grande, or Esplanade, to look at the first iron steamer which had ever anchored in their quiet little bay. Her very light draught of water seemed to them quite incompatible with her size; and even the Portuguese governor was so much taken by surprise, that he sent off a messenger expressly to the vessel, to warn her captain of the supposed danger which he ran by venturing so close in shore. It is probable, however, that his Excellency was not quite satisfied with the near approach of an armed steamer, within short range of his own palace; and, moreover, the firing of a salute, almost close under his windows, had speedily frightened away the fair ladies who had been observed crowding at all the windows with eager curiosity.

As soon as the first excitement had passed, Captain Hall waited upon the governor, to assure him that he had come with the most peaceable intentions, and to thank his Excellency for the friendly warning he had given, with respect to the safety of the vessel. At the same time, he begged to inform his Excellency, that he was already thoroughly acquainted with the harbour and anchorage of Macao, from early recollection of all

those localities; as he had served as midshipman on board the Lyra, during Lord Amherst's embassy to China, in 1816.

It was now ascertained that the English admiral, the Honourable George Elliot, was at anchor with his fleet in Tongkoo roads, below the Bogue forts; and, accordingly, the Nemesis proceeded to join the squadron, after the delay of only a few hours. Her arrival was announced by the salute to the admiral's flag, which was immediately returned by the Wellesley, precisely as if the Nemesis had been a regular man-of-war.

The Nemesis now found herself in company with the three line-of-battle ships, Wellesley, Melville, and Blenheim, together with H. M. S. Druid, Herald, Modeste, Hyacinth, and the Jupiter troop-ship. Thus, then, after all her toil and hardships, the gallant Nemesis had at length reached the proud post towards which she had so long been struggling. It was highly gratifying to learn that she had still arrived soon enough to be able to take part in the expected brilliant operations; and the admiral and many of his officers expressed their sense of the perfect adaptation of her construction and armament to all the purposes likely to be required of her; and her arrival just at that time was hailed with peculiar pleasure. Her voyage from England had indeed been a long one; very nearly eight months having elapsed since she bade adieu to Portsmouth. But her trials had been many during that period. She had started in the worst season of the year; and had encountered, throughout nearly the whole voyage, unusual weather and unforeseen difficulties. She had happily

survived them all; and the efforts which had been already made to enable her to earn for herself a name gave happy promise of her future destiny.

The excitement on board was general, now that she at length found her *iron* frame swinging, side by side, with the famed "wooden walls" of England's glory; and the prospect of immediate service, in active operations against the enemy, stimulated the exertions of every individual. For some days, however, she was compelled to content herself with the unwelcome operation of "coaling" in Tongkoo Bay. In the mean time, the ships of war had sailed, leaving her to follow them as soon as she could be got ready; and now, while this black and tedious process is going on, we cannot be better employed than in taking a short survey of the events which had immediately preceded her arrival, and of the more important occurrences which led to such momentous consequences.

CHAPTER X.

General review of events which preceded the arrival of the Nemesis — Origin of our difficulties — Lord Napier — Captain Elliot — 1838 — Execution of criminals—Chinese mob — Foreigners unprotected—Notices by Captain Elliot against the opium trade — Remarks thereon — Resources of China — Political crisis at Pekin—Movement—Party in China—Led by the Empress — Her ability, attractions, and power — Her fall, and death—Revival of old prejudices—Hatred of foreigners called "Patriotism" — Stringent measures against opium—Lectures of the Emperor — Death of the Emperor's son — Official smugglers — Opium-mania—Revulsion of feeling against it — Persecutions — The traffic still thrives — Mode of smuggling — Arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton — His character — Contrasted with that of Keshen and Elliot—Governor Tang—His character—His son a smuggler—Suspicions of Lin.

The abolition of the privileges of the East India Company in China, and the difficulties which soon resulted therefrom, concerning the mode of conducting our negociations with the Chinese for the future, will be remembered by most readers; and, whatever part the questions arising out of the trade in opium may have *afterwards* borne in the complication of difficulties, there is little doubt that the first germ of them all was developed at the moment when the general trade with China became free. This freedom of trade, too, was forced upon the government and the company in a great degree by the competition of the American inte-

rests; and by the fact that British trade came to be carried on partly under the American flag, and through American agency, because it was prevented from being brought into fair competition in the market, under the free protection of its own flag.

The unhappy death of the lamented Lord Napier, principally occasioned by the ill treatment of the Chinese, and the mental vexation of having been compelled to submit to the daily insults of the Chinese authorities, in his attempts to carry out the orders of his government, will be remembered with deep regret. With the nature of those orders we have here nothing to do. No one can question Lord Napier's talent, energy, and devotedness to the object of his mission.

The attempts of Captain Elliot, when he afterwards took upon himself the duties of chief superintendent, to carry out the same instructions, were scarcely less unfortunate. And, finding, as he publicly stated, that "the governor had declined to accede to the conditions involved in the instructions which he had received from her majesty's government, concerning the manner of his *intercourse* with his Excellency," the British flag was struck at the factories at Canton, on the 2nd of December, 1837, and her majesty's principal superintendent retired to Macao.

During the year 1838, very serious and determined measures began to be adopted by the Chinese authorities, directed generally against the trade in opium; and imperial edicts threatened death as the punishment, for both the dealers in and the smokers of the drug. Several unfortunate Chinese were executed in consequence.

Attempts were now made to execute the criminals in front of the foreign factories along the river side, contrary to all former usage and public right. A remonstrance followed, addressed to the governor, who, in reply, gave them a sort of moral lecture, instead of a political lesson, and then condescendingly admitted, that "foreigners, though born and brought up beyond the pale of civilization, must yet have human hearts."

Nevertheless, in the following December, 1838, the insulting attempt was again repeated, close under the American flag-staff, which was not then placed, as it has since been, in an enclosure, surrounded with a brick wall, and high paling. The flag was immediately hauled down by the consul, in consequence of the preparations which were going on, for the erection of the cross upon which the criminal was to be strangled.

At first, a few foreigners interfered, and without violence induced the officers to desist from their proceedings. But gradually the crowd increased, and, a Chinese mob, when excited, is fully as unruly as an English one; and thus each imprudent act, as usual, led to another. No Chinese authorities were at hand to control the disturbance; stones began to fly in all directions; and the foreigners, who by this time had come forward to the aid of their brethren, were at length, through the increasing numbers of the mob, fairly driven to take refuge in the neighbouring factories. Here they were obliged to barricade the doors and windows, many of which were, nevertheless, destroyed, and the buildings endangered, before a sufficient force of Chinese soldiers

had arrived to disperse the mob. In the evening, however, quiet was perfectly restored.

In the mean time, the alarm had spread to Whampoa, whence Captain Elliot set out, accompanied by about one hundred and twenty armed men, for Canton, and arrived at the British factory late in the evening. Both parties were now clearly placed in a false position, yet one which it would have been very difficult to have avoided. During many preceding months, the unfortunate Hong merchants had been in constant collision with their own government, on the one hand, and with the foreign merchants, on the other. There was scarcely any species of indignity to which they were not exposed, and they were even threatened with death itself. The Chinese government had daily become more overbearing towards all foreigners; and its habitual cold and haughty tone had grown into undisguised contempt and unqualified contumely. Their treatment of Lord Napier had been considered on their part as *a victory;* and their successful repulse of all Captain Elliot's advances was viewed by them as an evidence of their own power, and of Great Britain's weakness.

It has been already stated in the first chapter, that Sir Frederick Maitland, who had a short time previously paid a visit to China in a line of battle ship, had left those seas altogether just before the collision took place; and, in proportion as the foreigners were left unprotected, so did the Chinese become more overbearing.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that their determination to put a stop, as far as possible, to the

opium-trade *was for the time sincere;* though their measures might have been hasty and unwarrantable. A few days after the preceding disturbance, Captain Elliot distinctly ordered that "all British owned schooners, or other vessels, habitually or occasionally engaged in the illicit opium traffic *within* the Bocca Tigris, should remove before the expiration of three days, and not again return within the Bocca Tigris, being so engaged." And they were at the same time distinctly warned, that, if "any British subjects were feloniously to cause the death of any Chinaman, in consequence of persisting in the trade within the Bocca Tigris, he would be liable to capital punishment; that no owners of such vessels so engaged would receive any assistance or interposition from the British government, in case the Chinese government should seize any of them; and that all British subjects employed in these vessels would be held responsible for any consequences which might arise from forcible resistance offered to the Chinese government, in the same manner as if such resistance were offered to their own or any other government, in their own or in any foreign country."

So far Captain Elliot evinced considerable energy and determination; but he, probably, had scarcely foreseen that the shrewd and wily government of China would very soon put the question to him, "if you can order the discontinuance of the traffic *within* the Bocca Tigris, why can you not also put an end to it *in the outer waters beyond the Bogue?*"

As it seems scarcely possible to avoid all direct allusion to the difficult question of the traffic in opium,

I shall take this opportunity of saying a very few words upon this important subject. A detailed account of its remarkable history, and of the vicissitudes which attended it, both within and without the Chinese empire, would afford matter of the greatest interest, but could hardly find a place in this work.

In former times, as is well known, opium was admitted into China as a drug, upon payment of duty. It was brought there in very small quantities by the East India Company; and even the prohibition which was ultimately laid upon it was regarded by the Chinese themselves as a mere dead letter. Indeed, precisely in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining the drug did the longing for it increase.

The great events which sprung out of this appetite of a whole nation for "forbidden fruit," on the one hand, and of the *temptations* held out to foreigners to furnish it to them, on the other, may be considered as one of those momentous crises in a nation's history, which seem almost pre-ordained, as stages or epochs to mark the world's progress. Hence, therefore, the opium question must of necessity be viewed as much in a political as in a moral light; and, when we look impartially into the history of recent occurrences in China, we cannot doubt that "Opium" was frequently made a handle of by the authorities, in order to justify many of their questionable acts in relation to foreigners.

No wonder that China, resting haughtily upon the pedestal of her antiquity, and far excelling all surrounding nations in civilization and well-ordered government, should have become proud and inaccessible! Honoured

as she was by many, courted by some, and, at the same time, ignorant of all except her own people, it was natural that she should appear to despise their advances, when she professed to dread their contamination. Her resources are immense, and would be even greater than she herself believed, or foreigners had dreamt of, had she but the power *to guide*, or the will to be guided, in the proper direction for their development. Her fear of retrograding from the middle point to which she had attained led her to dread every attempt *to advance*, and thus she became feeble in the midst of strength, and really powerless when professing invincibility.

The very fact of our having appointed Lord Napier, a man of greater rank and influence than had ever before been sent there as superintendent of trade, was flattering to their vanity. And it is curious enough that, at the very time when a *mercantile* crisis was growing up at Canton, a *political* intrigue, or, as it might be called, a cabinet crisis, was breaking out at Pekin. In fact, strange as it may appear, it is believed in China, upon tolerably good authority, that there was actually a reform party struggling to show its head at Pekin, and that the question of more extended intercourse with foreigners was quite as warmly discussed as that of the prohibition of the import of opium or of the export of silver.

Memorials were presented to the emperor on both sides of the question; and his Majesty Taouk-wang, being old and personally of feeble character, halted for a time "between two opinions," alternately yielding both to

the one and to the other, until he at length settled down into his old bigotry against *change*, and felt all the native prejudices of a true son of Han revive more strongly than ever within his bosom.

The hesitation which was at first shown by the English encouraged those who still doubted; and the first success of the schemes of the Chinese, upon finding the foreign community so little protected, emboldened even the timid. Their arrogance grew more daring with their success; and the governor of Canton sought to gain favour at court by his sudden endeavours "to control the foreigners," and tried to raise his own fortunes by upholding the inaccessible dignity of the great Celestial Empire.

But the question of the Opium-trade, or Opium laws, which, for some time, had been really a *party* matter, like the corn-laws in our own country, became at length a question of interest and importance to the whole nation, and was magnified in its relations by the very discussion of the points which it involved.

It is said that the head of the reform party (if it can so be called) in China was a Tartar lady, belonging to the emperor's court, remarkable for her abilities no less than her personal attractions, and possessed of certain very strong points of character, which made her as much feared by some as she was loved by others. She was soon raised even to the throne itself, as the emperor's wife, but lived only a few years to enjoy her power. Her influence soon came to be felt throughout the whole of that vast empire; it was the means of rewarding talent, and of detecting inability. She seemed to possess,

in a marked degree, that intuitive discernment which sometimes bursts upon the female mind as if by inspiration. She was blessed with a tone and energy of character in advance of her age and of her country. She had many grateful friends, but she had raised up for herself many bitter enemies; party feeling ran high, and became at length too powerful even for an Empress.

Gradually her influence diminished, the favour of the emperor declined, her opponents again got the upper hand, and at length she pined away under the effects of disappointment and perhaps injustice, and died. But her influence, so long as it lasted, was unbounded, and was felt through every province.

Her principal adherents and dependants naturally lost their power when that of their mistress was gone. The question of more extended trade with foreigners was now again set aside; the old feelings of bigotry and national pride resumed even more than their former vigour. Opium at once became the instrument, but ostensibly PATRIOTISM became the groundwork, of their measures. The old national feeling against foreigners throughout the empire was revived; and, in the midst of it all, as if ordained to hasten on the momentous crisis which waited for its fulfilment, *the son of the emperor himself died in his very palace, from the effects of the excessive use of opium.*

Even before this unfortunate event, strong measures had begun to be adopted in some parts of the empire against the preparers and smokers of the drug. As is usually the case when one party has become victorious over another after a severe struggle, the course which

they advocate is followed up with even more than their former vigour. When once the advocates of a severe compulsion for stopping the use of opium, and with it the export of silver, had gained the upper hand in the cabinet, measures of a very stringent kind were immediately adopted, as if with the full determination of giving them a fair trial.

The evil had certainly reached a very high pitch; and, from having been formerly confined to the wealthier and more indolent classes, it spread its deadly grasp among the lower grades, so that even *the lowest* at length came to be confirmed debauchees. Not that their fair earnings could generally enable them to procure enough of so costly an article, but because they were led to deprive themselves and their families of other comforts, and even necessaries, in order to obtain the means of gratifying their irresistible longing for the poison. Not unfrequently was even crime itself committed in order to obtain the means; and the opium-shops, particularly in the maritime towns and villages, became the last resort of all the thieves, vagabonds, gamblers, and bad characters throughout the district.

The demand for opium, and consequently its price, increased remarkably, and the numerous statements which have been published under this head have not been by any means exaggerated. It penetrated the most secret haunts, in proportion as the danger of using it more publicly increased; and, the more numerous were the edicts which were issued against it, the greater did the craving for the forbidden luxury, amounting almost to a national MANIA, go on increasing day by day. The

MORAL LECTURES of the emperor, which appeared in the Pekin Gazette, were very pretty to read, but very futile in their effects. And if the great despotic Ruler over hundreds of millions of people, whose very word was law, still found himself totally unable to exclude the drug (even under the severest prohibitions) from his *own palace*, is it to be wondered at that all his strongest measures should have totally failed in withdrawing the mass of the nation from the temptation?

The enormous profits derived from the clandestine sale of opium induced many of the Chinese to embark in it as a speculation, who neither used it themselves, nor were habituated to any other commercial traffic. Official men both smoked and *sold it;* hundreds of people gained a livelihood by the manufacture or sale of opium-pipes, and other apparatus connected with its use; and even the armed soldier often carried an opium-pipe in his girdle, with the same unconcern as he did the fan-case which is very commonly a part of his costume.

All this was going on throughout a great portion of the empire, during the time that the question of its legalization or of its sterner prohibition was being so warmly debated at court, and discussed throughout the country. But the general impression was, that the importation of the drug would be legalized, and there was little apprehension of the violent persecution which soon commenced.

It may here be fairly urged, nor can it indeed be denied, that the government of Pekin had a perfect right to make strong representations and remonstrances to the government of any other country whose subjects might

be engaged in acting contrary to the promulgated edicts of the emperor; but, on the other hand, the government of that other country (whichever it might chance to have been) would also have an equal right to reply, "If you have not the means or want the disposition to prevent your *own high officers* and *paid servants* from both engaging in the very acts of which you complain, and from even *encouraging* the infraction of your laws by foreigners, how can you expect that WE can prevent our distant traders from supplying them, either privately or publicly, with that for which they are ready to pay so high a price?" On the contrary, instead of the foreigners imposing it upon them as a condition of trade, it was the Chinese themselves who begged and prayed that it might be supplied to them; who sought out the opium-selling vessels at long distances, and were even then only permitted to receive it by paying hard cash for it. So determined were the Chinese to possess it at any cost, that they frequently were willing to purchase it for *its own weight* in silver, balanced fairly the one against the other in the scales. Boats belonging to the Custom House engaged in the traffic. The governor of Canton himself, Tang by name, was known to have employed his own boat to fetch it; and so publicly and undisguisedly was the traffic carried on, that a stipulated sum was paid to the officers for every chest landed, precisely as if it had been a bale of cotton or a box of glass.

It cannot be doubted, however, that, after the death of the emperor's Son, public attention throughout the empire became more strongly than ever directed to the increasing evils of the use and abuse of opium. Many

instances of its pernicious effects now rose to the recollection of individuals who would otherwise have scarcely dwelt upon them. The agitation of the question had indeed led to party feeling upon the subject; but still, among many pretenders, some *really* honest men appeared, who claimed and tried to earn for themselves the character of "patriots." The thunders of the emperor against foreigners began to take effect, and the violent prejudice and ignorant presumption of numerous excited spirits assumed a higher and more stirring name, of which, however, it was scarcely worthy. Measures of a severer kind now began to be adopted, and the reaction throughout the empire was almost universal, because the shock had not been expected; it came upon them like an earthquake.

Yet the justice of it appeared evident to many, for the evils had been concealed from none. It seemed as if all on a sudden the highroad to official favour and distinction could be found solely through the degree of energy shewn in ferreting out the lowest opium-smokers, and in publicly giving up the very pipes which were used; indeed, it has been said that this enthusiasm was carried so far, that pipes were actually *purchased* for the purpose of giving them up to the officers, as if it indicated a voluntary surrender of a vicious habit. These were all displayed as emblems of victory, and the most zealous were the best rewarded, while the government itself became astonished at its own apparent success. It now thought itself irresistible, and despised the foreigners more than ever.

A grand crisis was produced by these proceedings in

the interior of the country. *All traffic* of an extensive kind became nearly stopped; the prisons were filled with delinquents; and a great parade was made of the "stern severity" of the government, on the one hand, and of the obedient submission of the people, on the other. Yet, in spite of all this public display, that traffic itself was in reality as flourishing as ever, although perhaps it might have changed hands. Opium was more eagerly sought after than before; the price of it rose in proportion; and, precisely as had been predicted by the free trade or reform party in Pekin, it was found impossible to prevent its introduction into the country by the people themselves, even by the threat of death itself. Fishermen carried with them a single ball, and made a large profit by its sale; women pretended to be dropsical or "interesting" in their situation, and carried it in their clothes; the temptations and the profits were so large and irresistible, that hundreds of modes were discovered for conveying it from place to place, in spite of the penalties which awaited detection. The beheading of a few men, and the imprisonment of others, did not deter the mass; the delicious intoxication of the precious drug proved far too attractive to be controlled by the horrors of death or torture.

The truth is, however specious the edicts and writings of the Chinese may appear *on paper*, they are perfectly futile in reality, when the will of the people and the absence of any early prejudice is opposed to their accomplishment.

Without further pursuing a subject which, though deeply interesting, has been already so much a matter

of discussion, we may at once come to the conclusion, that the passion of the Chinese for the pernicious intoxication of opium, was the first link in the chain which was destined to connect them at some future day with all the other families of Mankind. The abolition of the privileges of the East India Company first opened the door for the *general* trade of all foreign nations upon an extended scale; but the trade in opium, which the Chinese were determined to carry on, in spite of all opposition of their own government, and with a full knowledge of the pernicious consequences which resulted from it, was apparently the ordained *instrument* by means of which the haughty tone and the inapproachable reserve of their government were to be at length overcome.

It has been already stated, that the national hatred of all foreigners was encouraged by the outcry against opium; and yet it was the national mania for the use of this tempting poison which brought them more than ever into contact with the foreigners. Henceforth, the Chinese *must* belong to the great family of civilized man, and extend her intercourse with all nations. One would almost think that Cicero had the Chinese in view when he said, "Qui autem dicunt civium rationem habendam, externorum negant, hi dirimunt communem humani generis societatem, quâ sublatâ, beneficentia, liberalitas, bonitas, justitia funditus tollitur."—*Cic.* de Repub., lib. iii.

We now come to the period of the famous Commissioner Lin's appointment to Canton. This was indeed the climax of all the perplexities. Lin himself was the

Robespierre, the Terrorist, the reckless despot, who represented a certain party in the empire, who conscientiously believed that they could *terrify* not only their own countrymen, but even foreign nations as well, into patient submission to their will and subjection to their prejudice.

It would be presumption to attempt to discuss the character of Lin, in the manner in which it deserves to be handled, because he was a man of so extraordinary a stamp that, without having personally seen and watched him, it would be impossible to estimate him by the ordinary rules of intelligence. But his acts suffice to draw the outline of his character, quite as much as the latter would have enabled you to predict his acts. He seems to have been composed of good and bad qualities in equal proportions, but always of a violent kind. He was a man who, in any other country than China, would have been either distinguished as a Demagogue or branded as a Tyrant, precisely as circumstances chanced to lead him into a particular channel. He was reckless of consequences, so long as he could carry out his will without control. He was violent, yet not selfish; changeable, yet always clinging to his original views; severe, and even cruel and inexcusable, in the measures by which he sought to gain his ends; yet, in reality, he is believed to have meant well for his country, and to have had the interests and the wishes of the Emperor, his Master, always at heart. He certainly believed that he could control both the people under his own government, and the foreigners who came into contact with them, *by force;* and his very errors seem to have arisen from ex-

cess of zeal in the cause which he adopted. His talent was unquestionable.

In alluding, hereafter, to his successor, Keshen, I shall have occasion to contrast them together; yet, however great may have been the difference of character between Lin and Keshen, it was quite insignificant in comparison to that between Lin and Captain Elliot. It seemed scarcely possible to bring two men together more thoroughly dissimilar in their character or mode of proceeding. Lin appeared to look down upon Elliot, not only as a foreigner, but as an individual; and the name of ENGLISHMAN, as representing one of a NATION, was far more formidable to him than that of Elliot as representing a Government.

Lin became intoxicated with his own success (for the time, at all events) in whatever he undertook; and expected all his orders to be executed with the same energy and facility with which he gave them utterance. It is said, moreover, that he procured a copy of a remarkable work called a "Digest of Foreign Customs, Practices, Manners," &c. in which bad deeds rather than good ones, and even the names of individual merchants, were brought forward; and that he studied this book with constant pleasure.

On the 10th of March, 1839, this redoubtable commissioner reached Canton, having travelled with extraordinary speed from Pekin, whither he had been called to receive his appointment at the hands of the emperor himself, who is said to have even shed tears, as he parted with him.

He lost not a moment, upon his arrival at Canton, in

setting all the powerful energies of his mind to work, to devise means of accomplishing his ends. He determined to endeavour to put a complete stop to the traffic in opium, both on the part of his own people and on that of foreigners; and his great aim was to "control, curb, and humble," the foreign community generally.

From this time forth it became very evident that great and complicated events must be looked for upon the political horizon. Even Captain Elliot himself could hardly hope that his little star of diplomacy could light the road to a solution of the difficulties, without an ultimate resort to arms.

It is true that, for a brief interval previous to Lin's arrival, the prospect seemed to brighten considerably. Captain Elliot had partially succeeded in establishing direct official intercourse with the governor of Canton; for it had been at length agreed that all sealed communications coming from the chief Superintendent should be delivered into the hands of the Governor, and the seal broken by him only. This was a great point gained; and Elliot seems to have managed it with considerable tact. Nevertheless, the correspondence could not be said even now to be carried on upon terms of "perfect equality;" and even this concession was quite as much a matter of necessity to the Governor as it was to Captain Elliot; for the cessation of intercourse had been a source of equal embarrassment to them both.

The Governor, Tang, in immediate anticipation of Lin's arrival, now took upon himself to read a lecture to foreigners upon their "dullness and stupidity;" told them how grateful they ought to be for "past favours,"

and expatiated in true Chinese style "upon the extremely *tender compassion* with which they were cherished by the Great Emperor." But then he triumphantly added that "China had no need of them, nor of their trade, and had very little concern about them; yet, at the same time, it could not bear to *refuse* them the tea and rhubarb of the central land, upon which their very lives depended." And then he significantly concluded by warning them "that, as 'stern severity' was now the order of the day, by sea and by land, he intended to shut up the Port, *and stop the foreign trade for ever!*"

All this sounded very energetic, and was put forth merely to prepare the way for the new Commissioner, and in order to have something to *show* him on his arrival. This Governor Tang was essentially a crafty, cringing, self-interested man; he derived immense sums from opium, and his own son was said to be employed in the clandestine traffic, against which the father was uttering severe denunciations, followed by severer persecutions.

Thus, while some thought Tang to be a model of good, others knew him to be a rogue; at the same time, he always contrived to enrich himself. Lin afterwards suspected, and perhaps even discovered his delinquencies; and Tang became a willing and submissive instrument, if not a cringing sycophant. But his day of punishment came at last.

CHAPTER XI.

Trade in opium almost stopped before Lin's arrival—Lin is said to be the people's friend—And the foreigner's enemy—His energy — Demands what arms the foreigners possess at Canton — Threatens to set the "mob" upon them—Calls for the surrender of the opium, both in the inner and outer waters—Offers a bond for signature — Prohibition to leave Canton or Whampoa — His impatience — Emperor's orders — Concession of one demand produces another — Threats — No English vessel of war to protect the English — Insult at the "Bogue" — Elliot demands passports for the English — Is a prisoner at Canton — Lin's triumph—Expected arrival of American ships of war—Provisions refused to foreigners—Demand for opium received—Bond signed by the foreign community — Opium to be delivered up, under conditions — Lin surprised at his own success—Breaks his own agreement—Sixteen gentlemen detained—Destruction of the opium at the Bogue—Captain Elliot sends intelligence to Calcutta and Bombay — Captain Elliot prohibits trade—Lin's irritation — Loses his revenue from it—Wishes the English to trade, in spite of the order — Drives the English out of Macao — And threatens to poison them at Hong Kong — Unable to control his own people—Arrival of the Volage—Notice of blockade—Chinese yield—Hyacinth and Volage attacked by Chinese war-junks — Occurrences at Macao — Captain Smith's proceedings—Lin's sham fight at the Bogue — Arrival of Rear-Admiral Honourable George Elliot, with reinforcements.

It is worthy of notice that, just previous to the arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton, the opium-trade had received such a check, that it might be said to have been for the time almost entirely suspended. We have

seen the strong measures taken by Captain Elliot against it, which proved that he looked upon it with no favouring eye; and, in short, at that time the opium vessels had left the river altogether. But Lin was not a man to do things by halves: he had come down, panting with haste, to commence active operations of some kind or other. Nor can it be said that he ever sought to enrich himself by gain. He had formerly, when governor of a province, earned the character of the People's Friend; and he seemed now more determined still to win the appellation of the Foreigner's Enemy. He had belonged to the party opposed to the Empress's influence, and, had she survived and continued in power, he would never have been sent on so dangerous a mission. But, when once the liberal party, and the advocates for the legalization of the opium-trade, upon the grounds of the *impossibility* of excluding it by prohibition, had been defeated, it became almost a point of honour, certainly of pride with Lin, to show how successfully he could carry out the views of the high Chinese, or exclusive party.

From the very moment of Lin's arrival, clothed with unlimited power, his restless energy, and his quick penetrating eye, made every officer of his government cower down before him. Indeed, there was hardly an officer of the province, from the governor downwards, who did not feel conscious of guilt, corruption, and peculation. From high to low, from rich to poor, Lin determined that a reign of terror should commence. He had lists prepared, containing observations upon the characters of all the public officers, of the Hong merchants, and

even of the foreigners. He seemed determined to wage war with every body. And, as a proof that his intentions against the foreign community were any thing but conciliatory, within a few days after his arrival he sent round the Hong merchants to the different factories, to ascertain, by intrigue and persuasion, *what weapons the foreigners were in possession of*, and what means they had at hand for their own immediate defence.

It is scarcely to be credited, that people should have been so blind to Lin's views, or to their own safety, as to render an account which he had no right to demand, and no power to exact. Some few of the foreign merchants refused to give any information upon the subject; but, as the majority of them did so, of course it was regarded by Lin as an act of "dutiful submission," and with it his courage rose in proportion. A proclamation was directly afterwards issued, telling them that, "if they did not at once reform and repent, he would not only sweep them away with the imperial troops, but would arouse the common people of the land, the very *mob*, to annihilate them altogether."

Perhaps he little knew the dangerous position in which the government of any country places itself, when, in a sort of pet of the moment, it rouses the mad passions of a mob. At Canton, at the present moment, the populace no longer fear the government in the same degree as they once did; and, the very people that took to their heels, like "obedient children," at the very sight of the Kwangchowfoo, or Prefect, and a few soldiers before the factories in December, 1838, pelted and drove away the *same* Officer from the very same

spot in December, 1842, when the old British factories were totally destroyed.

Having privately arranged all his plans, and, believing that the foreigners were sleeping, Lin now ordered that all the opium in the inner waters, and also in the store ships in the "*outer waters*," should be given up to the officers of his government; and that a bond should be drawn up in "Chinese and foreign character, stating clearly that the ships afterwards to arrive there shall never, to all eternity, dare to bring any opium; or, if they did so, that their whole cargo should be confiscated, and all their people put to death, [by *Chinese* officers] and, moreover, that they would willingly undergo it as the penalty of their crime."

This proclamation certainly caused a little panic in Canton, and it was precisely what the Commissioner desired; and, the more the foreign merchants seemed disposed to meet his Excellency's views, as far as lay in their power, so much the more did the demands of the Commissioner rise. Every concession on the part of Captain Elliot, or the merchants, was to him a victory gained, and the forerunner of greater ones. Threats thundered forth against the heads of the Hong merchants rebounded in threats of all sorts, and alarming statements from them to the foreigners. There seems to be some reason for supposing that, in the commencement of the business, it was intended by Lin that a certain compensation should be granted to foreigners for the value of the opium surrendered. Gradually, however, as he thought himself getting stronger, this intention was quite lost sight of; and almost at the same time

an edict came out, forbidding all foreigners to apply for permission to go down to Macao—in fact, preventing them from leaving Canton or Whampoa.

At this period, not ten days had elapsed since Lin's arrival at Canton, and there had not been sufficient time even to reply to his proclamation, *only issued the preceding day*, respecting the opium and the bond. Lin's impatience hurried on one event upon another, in his headlong career; he issued orders, without waiting to see whether his previous ones had been attended to. With more discretion, he would in the end have been more successful, but the extraordinary dissimilarity between Captain Elliot's character and his own led him to think himself capable of concluding difficulties at a distance, and of meeting them when only yet seen from afar. Whatever unfortunate results may have ultimately sprung from his policy, it can never be questioned that for the time his darling object was, not only to "humble the foreigners," but to carry out, to the letter, the express directions of his Emperor, which were delivered to him in these words: — "to scrub and wash away the filth, and to cut up the opium-evil by the roots, and to remove calamities from the people." Alas! the excessive zeal of the servant at last defeated the undoubtedly well-meant purposes of the master!

Within a few days after his arrival, we have seen that Lin was embroiled with the whole foreign community; and, in the short space of twenty-four hours, edicts appeared, as has been stated, commanding the surrender of all the opium, whether strictly in the Chinese waters or not; and placing under arrest every foreigner, both

at Canton and Whampoa, without alleging any grounds for the proceeding.

The Drama was now fast spreading out into its different acts and scenes. An agreement that *one* thousand chests should be delivered up only led to the demand for more, and *four* thousand chests were then required.

Next, Mr. Dent, one of the principal merchants, was to be brought before the commissioner *within* the city; and, in order to save, as he believed, the heads of some of the Hong merchants, he agreed that he would go, provided that he should receive beforehand a safe-conduct from the Imperial Commissioner himself, guaranteeing his safe return. But upon any other condition he refused to put himself voluntarily in his power. The reply to this was, "that, if he did not come of his own free will, he should be dragged out of his house by force;" and the threat was added that in that case the High Commissioner would assuredly kill him.

A circular from Captain Elliot now required that "all ships belonging to her Majesty's subjects at the outer anchorages should proceed at once to Hong Kong, since her Majesty's subjects were then detained at Canton against their will." It will scarcely be credited, that at this time the only British man-of-war in the Chinese waters was the small sloop, the Larne. This was perfectly well known to the Chinese, who consequently conceived themselves strong enough to proceed to the highest degree of violence and indignity. And, when the Larne afterwards went up to the Bogue, and demanded certain explanations of the Admiral Kwan (who, we have before seen, was on friendly terms with Sir Fre-

derick Maitland, on a previous occasion, when he visited the Bogue in a *line-of-battle ship)*, the only answer that Kwan condescended to give to the *little* Larne was, "that she (or rather her captain) ought to know her own weakness, and be reverentially obedient, as Maitland had been before."

At the critical juncture I have above described, Captain Elliot resolved to come up to the British factory in person, in a small open boat, and, for a moment, our flag was again hoisted, when all were virtually prisoners, whom the flag could not protect. He now declared his intention of demanding passports for all her Majesty's subjects within *ten days* (he should have demanded them *at once)*; but, having no armed force that he could call to his aid, all he could do was to say, "that, if they were refused for the period of three days after his application, he should be forced into the conclusion that British subjects were all to be violently detained as hostages, in order that they might be intimidated into unworthy concessions."

Scarcely could a more humiliating position be conceived than that of the Chief Superintendent at that moment, before a proud and overbearing Commissioner, armed with unlimited power; while he himself was helpless to protect or save others, and was actually himself a prisoner in his own factory, and under his country's flag.

Lin now had Elliot completely in his power, and was doubtless much surprised himself at the success of all his schemes. As to the demand for passports, made without any power to force compliance, the Commis-

sioner chuckled at it; and now that he saw the whole community in his grasp and helpless, he despised and hated them more than ever. He even encouraged the very degradation of the name of "Englishmen" in the estimation of the people of Canton, and tried to hurl it down from the proud pre-eminence on which it stood in every other part of the globe. Bitter, indeed, have been at length the fruits of their presumption, and of Lin's obstinacy! Upon their own heads have rebounded the contumely and degradation which they then heaped upon ours.

But, at that moment, neither the flag nor the guns of England could protect her people: they were prisoners in their own halls; and it is a positive fact that, for some time, the only chance of relief or protection which they had to look to was the expected arrival of two *American ships of war*, which were known to be on their way out, having been applied for by the consul of that country, upon the first appearance of the difficulties.

This was a grand opportunity for pushing their fortunes in that quarter, which the Americans knew well how to profit by. In reality, the whole foreign trade was for a time in jeopardy; but the Americans profited precisely in proportion to the increase of our difficulties, and their trade increased exactly as ours declined. The moment was an advantageous one for proving to the Chinese that Americans were not Englishmen; although they cleverly made them understand that they *had been* so once, but at last had conquered for themselves a Name, a Flag, and a Nation.

It has been said that, at a later period, an American merchant had more than one interview with Lin, in which various suggestions were made as to the measures to be adopted: but, whether they were of a favourable or unfavourable nature to English interests, it is impossible to say with confidence. The results of the conference were kept very secret.

Fortunately, we shall soon arrive at that period when the power and majesty of England, so long dormant in those parts, were again to be put forth with tremendous effect, and followed by consequences in which all the civilized family of the world must be interested. But we must follow Lin in his own course.

Having secured all the foreigners within his grasp, his next step was to withdraw all the native servants from the factories, and to forbid the sale of provisions to foreigners in any shape. Armed men were posted on every side, to prevent any one from attempting to escape, while the river was blockaded, and all the foreign boats which could be found were drawn up high and dry on shore, or else destroyed. In the mean time, however, no provisions were supplied by Lin himself; consequently, the foreign prisoners were in a worse plight, in that respect, than the actual malefactors in the cells of the public prisons of the town; and his object was evidently to *starve* them into compliance with his wishes, if indeed he knew himself what the full extent of his wishes really was.

Captain Elliot was now called upon to deliver up *all* the opium, wherever it might be found. And yet it was clear enough that Captain Elliot could not pos-

sibly know *where* all the opium was, or how much it might be; and, having already agreed to the demand for, first, one thousand, and then four thousand chests, it would clearly be necessary to stipulate some quantity as a satisfactory equivalent for all.

Even in their present dilemma, a more decided show of firmness, and a threat of the retribution which would fall upon him hereafter for his violent proceedings, might have restored to the Commissioner some little portion of his reasonableness, if not his reason. Nevertheless, as the whole community of foreigners (not the English only) were now under a course of starvation and imprisonment, and were in a degraded position in the eyes of all Chinamen, it is difficult to say if any other course could have been adopted than the one chosen by Captain Elliot. A bond was signed, under the influence and by the compulsion of existing circumstances, by all the parties, that they would not deal any more in opium; but they did not accede to the penalty of death, &c. &c., which Lin had originally attempted to impose. And, at the requisition of Captain Elliot, they agreed to deliver up all the opium then in their *possession*, " for the service of her majesty's government."

The quantity of opium to be delivered was not stipulated at the time. But, after returns had been very honourably and equitably sent to Captain Elliot, it appeared that he could command the enormous quantity of 20,283 chests; and he accordingly agreed that that immense number should be delivered up to officers deputed by Lin to receive it. It was also stipulated that,

as soon as one-fourth should be given up, the servants should be restored; that, after one-half had been delivered, the passage-boats should run as usual down to Macao; that trade should be opened as soon as three-fourths had been given up; and that, when the whole of it had been surrendered, "things should go on as usual."

As yet scarcely three weeks had elapsed since Commissioner Lin had come down, with this enormous power upon his shoulders; and yet it had sufficed to enable him to effect such a vast change in the relations which existed between the Chinese and the foreign community, and to astonish even his own countrymen by the energy and rashness of his measures.

The Commissioner was perfectly surprised at his own success, and equally so at the enormous quantity of opium which Elliot declared himself able to procure. But, in point of fact, there were not so many as twenty thousand chests of opium in the "*Chinese waters*" at that time, although that amount was at last procured, for vessels were sent to a distance even to seek for it, and to purchase it for Captain Elliot. Some of it was lying at Manilla, whence it was brought over for the purpose; and there was not much doubt that Lin would have been quite as well content with an agreement to deliver five thousand chests, or, at all events, ten thousand, as he was with that of twenty thousand chests. But Elliot himself seems to have been almost as great an enemy to the drug as the Commissioner was, and it must have awakened no small feeling of pride in the mind of the latter to reflect that he had been more than successful in the

accomplishment of all his plans, for that Captain Elliot himself had contributed to forward his projects.

Yet all this appeared feebleness to Lin; and, instead of making him satisfied with the "submission" of the foreigners, it only made him the more inclined to impose fresh annoyances upon them. Lin was a bold man; and looked more to present success than future stability. Among his own party he at once became the Hero, the Patriot, and the Wonder. But, cooler heads, and amongst them some of those who, like Keshen, had acquired the habit of thinking before they acted, readily discovered, at the bottom of all this cup of bitter violence, the dregs which would produce perplexity and danger. They seemed to feel that the British Lion could not long be insulted with impunity.

But what did Lin himself do, as the next step of his political delinquency? He broke the very Agreement he had just made: and, instead of allowing the passage-boats to pass down to Macao, as usual, as soon as one half of the stipulated number of chests had been surrendered, as agreed, he selected the names of sixteen gentlemen out of the whole community, and issued the strictest orders against *their* departure; and directed that every one of the passage-boats should be examined, to see if any of these gentlemen were on board, and to prevent their escape. In short, it was very evident that the Commissioner considered the lives, liberty, and property of foreigners entirely at his mercy, and that his own agreements, though fully binding upon *them*, were not longer so upon himself than might suit his convenience.

Nevertheless, at this time the Commissioner would seem to have had some misgivings about the posture of affairs, and became at one time inclined to recommend the "obedient" foreigners to the notice of the Emperor, for the purpose of having some mark of favour conferred upon them. This was thought to point at some kind of compensation for the value of the opium surrendered, but nothing further was heard of it. He began now to fear that England might yet avenge her cause, and he, therefore, hit upon some scheme of getting the Hong merchants to pay off the value of the opium by instalments. He began to feel that he had gone too far; that he had acted contrary to his own agreement; and, had he been at this juncture warned with becoming dignity of the ultimate consequences of his measures, he would, probably, have paused in his mad career. But he became perfectly intoxicated with success; the people shouted with joy, apparently at the delivery of the opium, but really at the humiliation of the foreigner, whom they had been sedulously taught at Canton to look down upon with hatred. The excitement caused by these occurrences continued for a considerable time; intercourse between one part of the community and another, even in writing, became very difficult; and numerous ingenious contrivances were adopted for carrying it on. A more anxious period for the merchants generally can hardly be imagined in any country, or under any combination of circumstances.

On the 21st of May, 1839, the last portion of the stipulated quantity of twenty thousand two hundred and eighty-three chests of opium was delivered up at the

Bogue, where the rest of it was stored, awaiting the Imperial pleasure. Many questions arose as to how it was to be disposed of, but at last Lin himself hit upon the clever expedient of destroying it by lime and oil, in pits dug for the purpose, and then pouring the fluid compound into the sea. The process was a curious one, but too protracted to be described here. Double guards were placed to prevent any of the drug from being stolen, and death was to be the punishment of every delinquent. There were checks and spies in all directions, and the process of destruction was carried on with great parade. Nevertheless, it is believed that some of it was purloined, both on shore and on its way from the ships to the landing-place, where mandarin-boats and war-junks were collected in great number, and, doubtless, assisted each other in obtaining a *small* portion of so precious an article.

As soon as possible after he had regained his liberty, Captain Elliot sent intelligence of all these occurrences to Bombay, (for the overland mail) by a fast sailing vessel, hired expressly for the purpose, called the Ariel; and at the same time H. M. sloop Larne was despatched to Calcutta, to report them to the governor-general of India. Consequently, there was then *not a single British ship of war* of any description in the Chinese waters, for the protection of British life and property. Luckily, the arrival soon afterwards of the American ships of war, the Columbia and the John Adams, served to reassure the drooping spirits of the whole foreign community.

Other acts of atrocity and bad faith had also been

committed by the Chinese authorities; but it is remarkable that Captain Elliot, whose personal courage and natural ability have never been questioned, seems to have entered no public protest, nor addressed any strong remonstrance to the Commissioner, either upon this subject, or upon that of his own imprisonment, or rather confinement, at Canton. The probability was, that he thought it useless to do so, unless he were prepared to back his remonstrance by a demonstration of force. Nevertheless, after the foreigners were released, he issued a notice that all trade on the part of his countrymen with the Chinese should be stopped, because, he added, that ships could not enter the river for that purpose, without great danger to life and property. And this notice was repeated in still stronger terms after the departure of the Larne; for he declared that "he saw no prospect of such an arrangement of existing difficulties as to admit of British ships proceeding within the Bocca Tigris, under the sanction of his authority, until the opinion of her Majesty's government could be made known to him." And at a later period he thought it necessary to warn all the merchants (dated the 29th of July) "that he had moved her Majesty's and the Indian governments to forbid the admission of tea and other produce from China into Great Britain and India, during the existence of the preceding prohibition in Canton, unless their manifests were signed in his presence."

The stoppage of the trade by Captain Elliot irritated Lin excessively. It was turning the tables against himself, defeating him with his own weapons; it savoured of presumption in his sight; and, moreover, it

materially diminished his Revenue. It proved that, however bombastic and ridiculous their professions of *indifference* to the trade of foreigners might be, they really stood very much in need of it themselves, and, in fact, they felt the stoppage of it on our part quite as much as we ever did on theirs. It made Lin actually spiteful; he tried every art to induce the English to act *contrary* to Elliot's orders; and, subsequently, when he went down to Macao to see with his own eyes what the Portuguese were about, he went so far as to make it a matter of accusation against Elliot that "he had *prevented* the merchant ships of his country from entering the port of Canton."

Such gross inconsistency, probably, was never before presented to view in so short a period of time by any public man. Lin was, in fact, completely at bay, and he, moreover, had probably heard by this time that more than one British man-of-war was expected. Nevertheless, he by no means relaxed in his feelings of bitter hostility; he listened to every thing that was said or written against the English and against opium; he almost frightened the Portuguese, who were all submission at Macao, out of "their propriety;" he made them expel all the English out of the town, (or, what is the same thing, he threatened to attack the town if the English remained in it;) and he made them prohibit the importation of opium, which had formerly been permitted upon payment of duty. The Portuguese, professing to wash their hands of it for ever, found it in some respects (through fear) to their advantage to side with the Chinese and decry the English; when they actually con-

tinued to sell their opium (a great part of which they had sent to Manilla) under the English flag, or else *to* the English, or to the Americans, or to any body that would buy it. To this day, the traffic is continued by them in full vigour at the outer anchorages, and in the Typa near Macao, although it is prohibited to be landed at the town, under the eye of the authorities. Nevertheless, a sufficient quantity of it is brought into the town for local consumption.

Lin now appeared to have reached the pinnacle of his power. He flattered himself that his schemes had been all successful; his power appeared irresistible, because no effectual opposition to it had yet been offered. The more concessions were made to him, the more exacting he became; and, having got the English out of Macao, and made the Portuguese very submissive to his will, he then assumed a very bland and condescending tone; and it has been said, though I know not with what truth, that at length, when little else remained upon which to expend the fertile expedients of his brain, he began seriously to think of a scheme for getting possession of the old forts at Macao by stratagem, and of poisoning all the English at Hong Kong.

In the interim, it was very evident that a storm of a new kind was brewing, which was likely soon to burst upon his head. Moreover, all the attempts he had made to control *his own* people failed; his executions, his denunciations, and his moral lectures, were alike unavailing. He gave the people a year, within which they were to break off the habit by degrees, and to reform their manners; and, at the end of that time, he vowed he

would execute every man amongst them that persisted in it. In the mean time, he hit upon the last and darling expedient of every Chinese statesman and philosopher, that of making men mutually responsible for each other. Thus the whole people were to be divided into tens, as they were elsewhere in the days of Alfred the Great, and each one of the party was to be made personally responsible for the good behaviour of all the rest with whom he was associated.

Notwithstanding all these strong measures, urged with all the sincerity of an enthusiast, they both failed at the time, and have failed ever since to eradicate the evil. The demand for the drug increased with the difficulty of procuring it; the indulgence became dearer owing to the danger which attended it; and, after all that was said and done, opium continued to be sought and enormously paid for. It was more generally used than ever; and even attention became directed to the cultivation of the poppy on Chinese soil, when the difficulty of procuring it from abroad became more urgent.

Lin rose into high favour, for a time, with the Imperial court, as might naturally be expected; and he was appointed Governor of the second province in the empire. But long before the time came for him to remove to his new post, his star began to wane, his difficulties increased, and ultimately his fall was as great as his rise had been rapid.

For several months, as I have before stated, no British ship of war was present in the Chinese waters. It was during this interval, namely, in the month of July, 1839, that the great difficulty arose, which excited so

much attention at the time, and has done so since, arising out of the death of a Chinaman, by name Lin Wiehe, at Hong Kong, during an affray with some British merchant seamen. This event was eagerly taken advantage of by the Commissioner, to attempt to enforce certain claims against the foreigners. Without entering into tedious details, many of which are already well known, it will suffice to mention that the man's death was really occasioned by a drunken row, at a village near Hong Kong; that the Commissioner, in accordance with what had formerly been done on a similar occasion at Canton, demanded the surrender of the *murderer* to be tried by Chinese judges, and that Captain Elliot denied the jurisdiction altogether; but, at the same time, he himself preferred an indictment for murder against a seaman, before a British Grand-Jury at Hong Kong, who ignored the bill. But several men were ultimately found guilty of an assault only, and it appeared that one party was just as much to blame as the other.[1]

The Commissioner then grew more angry than ever: he caused the few English who still remained at Macao to be still further persecuted; and it was only through the friendly assistance of individual Portuguese families that they were enabled to obtain their daily food. The result was, that the whole British community left the place,

[1] It is remarkable that Captain Elliot, in his address to the Grand Jury, laid great stress upon this claim of the Chinese to try foreigners by *their* law, as being one of the principal causes of existing difficulties. His words were: "Our intercourse is at present interrupted, *I may say chiefly*, if not entirely, because it is impossible to consent to the pretensions of the Chinese government to judge her Majesty's subjects by their forms of judicature, for offences declared to be capital."

together with Captain Elliot, and went to live on board the different merchant ships in harbour.

Things could not remain long in such a state of embarrassment; and fortunately, on the 11th of September, that is, about three months and a half after the Larne had left those seas, the Volage, under Captain Smith, arrived. That gallant officer immediately perceived that active steps of some kind must be taken, and he accordingly issued a notice of blockade of the port of Canton, upon the ground "that the regular supplies of food had been prohibited to her Majesty's subjects; that the Chinese people had been ordered to fire upon and seize them wherever they went; and that certain of her Majesty's subjects had been actually cut off."

The immediate effect of this measure was to bring the Chinese in some measure to their senses; their proclamations against Englishmen were withdrawn, provisions were no longer prohibited, and consequently Captain Smith very properly withdrew his notice of blockade.

It is worth while to notice how much the presence of a good English man-of-war, commanded by an able and determined man, tended to bring back the Chinese authorities to "reason." Negociations were entered into, and it was at length agreed that trade should be resumed *outside* the port of Canton.

Yet, all on a sudden, even this arrangement was violated by the Chinese; and, on the 26th October, notice was issued that they now required that ships should enter *within* the port of Canton, that is, within the Bocca Tigris. They repeated the demand for the murderer of Lin Wiehe to be given up; and that a bond

should be signed by all, agreeing to be tried by *Chinese officers for offences declared by them before trial to be capital.* If this mandate were not obeyed, the whole of the foreign ships were to depart within three days, under a threat of immediate destruction!

The whole fleet, therefore, was now recommended to anchor in Tongkoo Bay or Urmston's Harbour, which afterwards became the rendezvous of all the ships of war, and was so, as before stated, when the Nemesis reached China. These events, however, had occurred long before that time.

It is not necessary here to enter into minute details; it will be sufficient for the full understanding of the future operations to state, that difficulties continued to increase on both sides, without much prospect of any solution. The Hyacinth having now arrived, and joined the Volage on the 29th October, these two vessels proceeded with Captain Elliot to Chuenpee, some distance below the Bogue, to endeavour to obtain from the Commissioner some explicit declaration of his intentions.

On the 3rd of November they were attacked by the Chinese Admiral with twenty-nine sail of war-junks, which, of course, they soon beat off; and thus occurred the first direct hostile encounter between the armed forces of the two nations. War became more than ever inevitable. Yet, at the end of the following month, these two ships of war were again compelled to proceed to the Bogue, in consequence of the seizure of a British subject by the Chinese (not engaged in selling opium) at the anchorage of Tongkoo Bay.

The blockade of the river and port of Canton was

therefore renewed by Captain Smith on the 15th January, 1840; but the gentleman who had been seized, Mr. Gribble, was at once restored, and the blockade was consequently raised.

Scarcely had this taken place, when down came to Macao a new Chinese governor of that settlement, and issued a positive edict for the immediate expulsion of all the English. Captain Smith, with becoming spirit, instantly ordered the Hyacinth, Captain Warren, to proceed into the inner harbour for the protection of his countrymen, which measure seemed to give great umbrage to the Portuguese governor, da Silveira Pinto; and, in consequence of his representations, she was withdrawn on the following morning.

Occasion was taken to make as much as possible out of this occurrence, as if the Portuguese really possessed some authority in the place beyond that over their own countrymen, and very futile appeals were made to treaties with the Chinese government. After all, the utmost that could be said of it was, that if it was a little deficient in courtesy towards the Portuguese governor, the latter should have rather volunteered his consent to it. Nevertheless, the energetic spirit which it evinced undoubtedly tended to check the presumption of the Chinese authorities, and thus far to give some little security to British subjects. Captain Smith very properly put it upon the ground of its strengthening the Portuguese governor's hands, which in reality it did, and which that functionary stood greatly in need of. At the same time, Captain Smith very laudably expressed a hope that "the language in which his Excellency would

demand the immediate removal of the Chinese forces, *declaredly* sent here to seize or destroy my countrymen (to the deep insult of the Portuguese crown), will be not less stringent, and as successful in its operation, as that in which your Excellency has been pleased to order the withdrawal of the Hyacinth."

During the whole of this time, preparations were being made by the Chinese for future operations in the Canton River; fire-ships were prepared, guns collected, and troops exercised.

On the 24th March, 1840, the fine frigate the Druid, commanded by Lord John Churchill, arrived off Macao, and thence proceeded to Tongkoo Roads, a most welcome reinforcement. About this time also the Chinese purchased the English merchant-ship the Cambridge, intending to turn her into a man-of-war, and built some strange-looking little schooners upon a European model, with the view of employing them in some novel way or other against the British ships.

It is said, that at one time Commissioner Lin got up a sort of sham-fight at the Bogue, and dressed some of the assailants in *red clothes*, in order to habituate the defenders to the sight of the colour of the enemy's costume. Of course, the red gentlemen were thoroughly beaten in due course of time, and thereby the valour of the Bogue protectors was supposed to be very materially augmented.

Matters had now proceeded so far, that it was impossible that any solution of the enigma could be arrived at without speedy employment of force. The success of their first measures, and the helpless condition in

which foreigners then found themselves, had emboldened the Chinese beyond reason, and had fed their presumption even till it burst with its own self-applause.

Lord John Churchill, who was now of course senior officer, unhappily died, after a week's illness, on the 3rd of June. Few days had elapsed before the Chinese sent a number of fire-ships to endeavour to destroy the English merchant-ships, collected at the anchorage of Capsingmoon, but they proved a complete failure.

The British naval force now rapidly gained accession to its strength. The tidings of the events at Canton had spread to all parts of the world. Preparations had immediately been commenced in England and elsewhere for the coming contest. The Alligator, from New South Wales, under Sir Gordon Bremer, arrived about this time, as also did the Honourable Company's steamer Madagascar, and likewise the Wellesley, 74, in which Sir Gordon Bremer hoisted his broad pendant; and on the 28th of June, 1840, Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer established a blockade of the port and river of Canton and all its entrances, by command of her Majesty's government. Ships of war now continued to arrive as fast as possible; the force in the Chinese waters was considerable; and, within two or three days after the commencement of the blockade, the chief command was assumed by Rear-Admiral the Honourable George Elliot, who had just arrived in the Melville, 74.

CHAPTER XII.

Canton river, description of, below the Bogue—"Outer waters"—Lintao—Capsingmoon passage—Urmston's Bay—Force assembled in China in 1840—Rewards offered for its destruction—Rear-Admiral Honourable Sir G. Elliot and Captain Elliot joint-plenipotentiaries—Squadron moves to the northward—Expedition to the Peiho—Hostility of the authorities at Amoy—Refusal to receive Lord Palmerston's letter at Ningpo—Blockade of the coast—First capture of Chusan—Plenipotentiaries at Tientsin—Answer from the Emperor—Keshen sent down to supersede Lin—Truce at Chusan—Flag of truce fired at from Chuenpee—Keshen's arrival at Canton—Sir Gordon Bremer becomes commander-in-chief—General review of occurrences in 1840—Threatened attack upon the English at Macao—Decisive measures of Captain Smith—Attack on the barrier—Order in council—Remarks on hostility of the Chinese—Kidnapping—General alarm at our proceedings—Preparations for hostilities on both sides—Nemesis at the Bogue—Description of Chuenpee, and of the defences of the Bogue—Tiger Island.

It will be generally admitted by all who have seen the Canton river, or, as the Chinese call it, Chookeang, that, in point of size, depth, and picturesque character, it is one of the finest navigable rivers in the world. Merchant ships of the largest size, perhaps the proudest which float, have navigated it for nearly two hundred years, to within a distance of nine or ten miles from Canton, with little difficulty, and very inconsiderable

danger. No foreign commerce with any one port has been so valuable, so extensive, or carried on with so much facility. The difficulties of our intercourse, which have arisen within the last few years, have formed an epoch in the world's history, and stand forth as a leading beacon in the stream of time, pointing towards greater eras yet to come. And, as they first began in the Canton river, an unusual interest becomes imparted to it.

An archipelago of numerous islands, most of them rocky, and only partially productive, warns you of the approach to this celebrated river. Strictly speaking, only that portion of it above the Bocca Tigris has been called the river; while all below that point, even from beyond Macao upwards (the latter lying at the distance of from forty to fifty miles from the Bogue forts), has been called the outer waters; nevertheless, it ought properly to be included within the precincts of the river itself.

Since the questions connected with the opium-trade have been brought so prominently forward, it has been maintained by some, that the "outer waters" ought *not* properly to be considered within Chinese jurisdiction. But this position would hardly seem to be tenable; and there can be no sound reason for maintaining that these waters should not be considered as much, and *even more*, within their jurisdiction as the sea-coast or river islands of any part of Europe are within the jurisdiction of the country to which they belong, to the distance of a certain number of miles from the land itself. In reality, the little peninsula of Macao on the west, and the island

of Lintao (not to be confounded with Lintin) on the east, may be considered as the proper boundaries of the entrance to the Canton River.

These points are about fifteen to twenty miles apart, while between them lie several small islands, through which are the two principal navigable passages (the western and the Lintao passages) into the river itself. But the island of Lintao, called Tyho by the Chinese, is a long, narrow, mountainous piece of land, broken up into numerous bays and projecting points, stretching from south-west to north-east, separated at the latter extremity from the mainland only about the distance of a mile. The passage and anchorage between them is called Capsingmoon, and is made use of occasionally even by large vessels, which pass towards the river or across from Macao towards the island of Hong Kong, which lies off the mainland at about five or six miles to the eastward of Lintao.[1]

The anchorage of Tongkoo Bay, towards which the Nemesis was to proceed to rejoin the fleet, and which is also known by the name of Urmston's Harbour, from having been recommended by Sir James Urmston, formerly President of the Company's factory at Canton, is situated about six miles due north from Lintao, between the little islands called Tongkoo and Sowchow, near the mainland, as you proceed upwards within the outer waters of the Canton River, along its eastern shores. It was here that the fleet anchored in 1823, in consequence of some discussions with the Chinese, arising

[1] See map.

out of the affair of the Topaze frigate, which occurred in the preceding year.[1]

About five miles distant from Tongkoo Bay, more towards the centre of the river, and a little to the northward, is the small island of Lintin, terminating in a very remarkable, high, conical peak, which is a guide to all vessels passing up or down. It has become famous as a place of rendezvous for the opium vessels, particularly within the last few years; and a merchant brig, bearing its name, has been recently sold to the Chinese as a man-of-war, though old and not very serviceable. This island must not be confounded with that of Lintao, before alluded to, and from which it is about eight or nine miles distant.

Having now got fairly into Tongkoo Bay with the fleet, and feeling something of the interest and excitement which were awakened in the breasts of all who were brought together in such a place and at such a time, we will next proceed to recount a few of the remarkable events of the year 1840, reserving the description of the other parts of the river for those portions of the narrative with which they are connected.

Towards the end of July, 1840, the British force assembled in China had become considerable: comprising no less than three line-of-battle ships, with a Rear-

[1] Some of the sailors of the Topaze were attacked and wounded on shore by the Chinese; and, in the scuffle, two Chinamen were killed. Remonstrances followed on both sides; and at length the Chinese demanded that two Englishmen should be delivered up to them for punishment. This was refused, as might be expected; upon which the Chinese authorities stopped the trade, and the fleet of merchant ships withdrew from Whampoa and came to anchor in Tongkoo roads, henceforth called Urmston's Bay or Harbour.

Admiral and a Commodore; thirteen other ships of war, of different kinds, and a large troop-ship; together with four armed steamers, belonging to the East India Company. To these must be added twenty-seven transports, having on board the 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments, a body of Bengal volunteers, and a corps of Madras sappers and miners. The marines and seamen were of course prepared to co-operate on shore. This was undoubtedly a formidable force, especially when we reflect that little more than a year had elapsed since there was *no armed force whatever* in the Chinese waters, and the proud flag of England had ceased to wave even upon the Factories.

The measures adopted by the governor-general of India, when once the crisis had arrived, were sufficiently energetic and decisive. The consequences of the rupture were now easily foreseen; and the interest which the state of our relations with China had begun to awaken, both in England and in India, was daily becoming more general.

On the first arrival of the large force mentioned below,[1] it did not appear to alarm Commissioner Lin,

[1] LIST OF NAVAL FORCES BELONGING TO H. B. MAJESTY IN CHINA, IN JULY AND AUGUST, 1840.

Melville, 74, flag-ship, Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Elliot, C. B.; Captain the Hon. R. S. Dundas.
Wellesley, 74, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, C.B.; Captain Thomas Maitland.
Blenheim, 74, Sir H. S. Fleming Senhouse, K.C.B.
Druid, 44, H. Smith, Esq.
Blonde, 44, F. Bouchier, Esq.
Conway, 28, C.D. Bethune, Esq.
Volage, 28, George Elliot, Esq.
Alligator, 28, H. Kuper, Esq.
Larne, 20, J. P. Blake, Esq.
Hyacinth, 20, W. Warren, Esq.
Modeste, 20, H. Eyres, Esq.
Pylades, 20, T. V. Anson, Esq.
Nimrod, 20, C. A. Barlow, Esq.
Cruiser, 18, H. W. Gifford, Esq.
Columbine, 18, T. J. Clarke, Esq.
Algerine, 10, T. S. Mosson, Esq.
Rattlesnake, troop-ship, Brodie.

HON. COMPANY'S ARMED STEAMERS.

Queen, Capt. Warden.
Madagascar, Capt. Dicey.
Atalanta, Capt. Rogers.
Enterprise, Capt. West.

and his obsequious satellite, Governor Tang, nearly so much as might have been expected. On the contrary, Lin continued to organize means of defence, to enlist soldiers, and to arm his forts. It was, moreover, at this moment that he hit upon his notable expedient of offering immense rewards for the destruction, in any manner whatever, of British ships, either men-of-war or merchant vessels, and also for the capture or slaughter of British officers. But the reward for taking them alive was to be greater than for killing them. There was also a reward for taking soldiers or *merchants*, but only one fifth of the sum if they were killed. A reward was also to be given for the capture of *coloured people*, soldiers, or servants, although its amount was not mentioned.

These curious documents were circulated under the seal of the imperial commissioner. But even this was not enough for the restless mind of Lin; he tried to invent contrivances for boring holes in ships' bottoms, and also for sawing their masts asunder.

All this followed after the declaration of blockade by Sir Gordon Bremer, and after a public complaint had been made by Captain Elliot against Lin and Tang, for various treacherous acts, such as attacking our vessels at night (merchant vessels), poisoning the water, and preventing supplies of food from being brought to the factories, &c.

It was now very evident, that although no formal declaration of war had been made on our part, it had become impossible to avoid warlike operations on an extended scale, and at no distant time.

Rear-Admiral Elliot had now been associated with

Captain Elliot in his diplomatic functions, and they were nominated Joint-Plenipotentiaries for settling the matters in dispute with the Emperor. That object appeared little likely to be attained by wasting time in negociations with irresponsible and overbearing public officers at Canton; it was, therefore, wisely resolved to take advantage of the best season of the year while it still lasted, and to proceed northward with the bulk of the force, in order to bring the emperor and his ministers to their senses, by exciting alarm as near as possible to the imperial capital.* The Peiho river, therefore, which commands one of the great channels of intercourse with the metropolis, and is connected with the Grand Canal, through which all the wealth of China flows to Pekin, was now avowedly the chief point to which the expedition was to be directed.

This movement was by no means a mere demonstration for the purpose of giving eclat to the conduct of the negociations, but was in reality a *hostile* operation; at all events, it became so as it proceeded, and the results of it may in reality be called the First Campaign in China. It was commonly called the first "China Expedition;" but the appellation was afterwards changed to the "Eastern Expeditionary force," which was also applied to the second expedition, as will be afterwards seen.

A small force being left at the Bogue to maintain the blockade, the bulk of the expedition, together with the two Plenipotentiaries, sailed to the northward at the end of June; part of the force above mentioned did not arrive until after the rest had sailed, but it soon followed the rest.

The first encounter with the Chinese took place at Amoy, in the beginning of July, 1840. The Blonde, forty-four, Captain Bourchier, was sent into the harbour of Amoy, to endeavour to hand over a letter from the English naval commander-in-chief, addressed to the "Admiral of the Chinese nation." This high officer was not there, and the local mandarins refused to receive it, and fired upon a boat which was sent to the beach bearing a flag of truce at the bow, and conveying Mr. Thom, as interpreter, for the purpose of delivering the letter to the mandarins, for transmission to the Chinese Admiral. The officers and crew of the boat had a narrow escape, for, besides being received with every possible indignity, the boat was fired at and *struck*, while preparations were evidently being made for an attack upon the frigate itself. Indeed, nothing could possibly be more hostile and insulting than the conduct of the Chinese officers, who met Mr. Thom at the landing-place. They showed some inclination even to seize the boat in which he came, and declared they neither feared him nor the ship either.

The result of their hostile bearing and of the attack on the boat was, that the guns of the Blonde were directed with terrific effect upon the Chinese batteries and the war-junks, immediately the boat reached the frigate. By this fire great damage was done, and the Chinese troops, who had assembled on the beach, were dispersed in all directions. Having inflicted this merited chastisement, as an example to the Chinese, the Blonde again set sail to join the main body of the force, in order to report the circumstances to the Admiral.

On the 5th of July, the town of Tinghai, the capital of the island of Chusan, the principal of the group of islands bearing that name, fell to her Majesty's arms after a very slight resistance. But as this and other operations to the northward, during this brief season, have been well described by Lord Jocelyn, it will be sufficient merely to allude to them in a cursory way; particularly as they were of minor importance compared with subsequent events.

The failure of the attempt to deliver a letter from Lord Palmerston to some of the authorities at Ningpo, to be transmitted to the cabinet at Pekin, became a matter of serious importance, after what had taken place at Amoy, and, in consequence, a blockade of the coast was established from Ningpo to the mouth of the Yangtze River, the most frequented and most commercial part of the whole sea board of China.

Nothing was more likely to make a deep impression upon the Chinese government than the stoppage of this valuable trade, upon which the daily sustenance of a large part of the population of the interior actually depended. The ultimate conclusion of peace, which was brought about by the more active prosecution of these very measures, will be sufficient to prove their wisdom at that time; and it is due to Captain Elliot to mention, that the blockade of the Yangtze river was at all times one of his most favourite projects.

About the middle of August, the bulk of the squadron arrived off the mouth of the Peiho, below Tientsin, having been preceded two or three days by Captain

Elliot, on board the Madagascar steamer.[1] Lord Palmerston's communication was there at length received, by an officer deputed for that purpose by Keshen, the governor of the province, and was forwarded to the emperor. Subsequently, a conference was held on shore between Keshen and Captain Elliot; and, whatever the results may otherwise have been, it is well known that the plenipotentiaries were persuaded, by the ingenuity of Keshen, that the future negociations could be conducted with more satisfaction at Canton (provided a new commissioner were sent down from Pekin for that express purpose), than within a hundred miles of the emperor's palace.

In the mean time, however, while an answer was expected from the emperor to the communication addressed to his ministers by Lord Palmerston, the principal part of the squadron, which had come up to the Peiho, sailed further northward, up the gulf of Petchelee, to the great wall of China, which has so long been classed among the wonders of the world. The effect of the emperor's answer, and of the negociations with Keshen, was, that this squadron withdrew from the neighbourhood of the capital; and Keshen himself was appointed Imperial Commissioner, to proceed at once to Canton, to open negociations with the plenipotentiaries. He was to supersede Lin, whose course seemed almost run, and who was ordered to Pekin in haste, to answer for his conduct. Nevertheless, he was subsequently allowed to remain as viceroy, or governor, at Canton, but never succeeded in obtaining the higher government which

[1] She was afterwards accidentally destroyed by fire.

had been previously promised to him elsewhere, in the heyday of his favour.

A curious bombastic edict was now issued by the emperor, declaring how the "rumbling thunders" of the guns of Chapoo and other places on the coast had beaten off the foreign ships, and "had greatly dampened their ardour," and that therefore the poor barbarians deserved a little extension of "imperial favour."

This was an ingenious device which his majesty adopted, in order to get rid of the English from his own neighbourhood, by persuading them to go and discuss the matters in dispute one thousand five hundred miles off, with a commissioner to be sent down there for the purpose.

As for poor Commissioner Lin, he was declared, in his majesty's anger, to be of no use at all except to cause the "waves of confusion to rise;" that he was just like a "stupid fellow with his arms tied;" and, as a finishing touch to the portrait, that he was in reality "no better than a wooden image." Alas for the mighty Lin! the dear friend at whose departure the emperor had before shed tears!

By the end of September, the squadron had returned to Chusan from the Peiho. A truce was about this time announced and published at Chusan; and a common impression prevailed that a general armistice had been concluded at Tientsen with Keshen, pending the result of the negociations to be carried on at Canton. This, however, was soon found to be erroneous; for, in a letter addressed to the merchants by Admiral Elliot in Tongkoo Bay, on the 26th November, (the very day after the

Nemesis had reported her arrival to the admiral) it was publicly declared that "the truce had been only entered into with Elepoo, the governor-general of that province, [Chekeang] and did not extend further." It must, however, have included the port of Ningpo, and other parts of the coast of the mainland, within the limits of the governor's authority.

The plenipotentiaries, Captain Elliot and the Honourable George Elliot, returned to Macao on the 20th November. It was on the following day that The Queen steamer was fired at and hit, as she passed the Chuenpee fort with a flag of truce. She had orders to proceed up to the Bogue, to deliver a letter which had been entrusted to her captain from "Elepoo," (probably concerning the truce he had concluded) addressed to the Imperial Commissioner Keshen at Canton. In return for this attack, she threw a few shells and heavy shot into the fort, and went back to Tongkoo Bay *re infectâ*. This was the second time a flag of truce had been fired at, although the Chinese perfectly understood the peaceful purpose which it denoted. The despatch, however, was forwarded the same evening to Keshen at Canton, through the subprefect of Macao, into whose hands it was delivered by Captain Elliot. It was also reported that the commandant at Chuenpee sent up some of The Queen's heavy shot, which had lodged in the fort, as a present to the authorities at Canton, probably to shew how brave he had been to withstand such weighty missiles. He did not lose the opportunity to claim a victory for having *driven* her off!

A heavy force was by this time collected at the mouth

of the Canton River, reinforced as it had been by the arrival of the Calliope and Samarang, and also of the Nemesis, and by the addition of a fresh regiment, the 37th Madras native infantry.

Keshen arrived at Canton on the 29th November, and sent an official notification to that effect to the plenipotentiaries; and it is remarkable that, almost at the same moment, Admiral Elliot was compelled to resign the command of the fleet, and also his duties as Joint-plenipotentiary, through sudden and severe illness. A few days afterwards he embarked for England in the Volage, leaving Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer as commander-in-chief, and Captain Elliot for the time as again the sole Plenipotentiary. Captain Elliot seems to have felt the loss of his relation's assistance very sensibly, but declared that he "had been trained in too long a course of anxiety and trial in that country, and reposed too steady a confidence in the assistance of every kind by which he was surrounded, to lose heart under the weight of this serious aggravation of his responsibility, and of this heavy personal blow;" and added, "that he had a firm reliance on the plain good sense and manly co-operation of all classes of her Majesty's subjects."

In order to render complete the general sketch of passing events to the close of 1840, I must not omit to mention the gallant affair at Macao under Captain Smith, of the Volage, which happened in the month of August, at the period when the main body of the expedition was engaged in the operations to the northward, already alluded to. It will be remembered that Captain Smith had once before thought it necessary to sail into the

Inner Harbour, for the protection of British subjects, but had retired upon a representation being made to him by the Portuguese governor.

In the month of August, however, strange rumours of a rather threatening character began to prevail, but not of a very definite kind. One of the principal Chinese officers of Macao had been absent for some time at Canton, and, on his return, accompanied, or rather followed, by a body of troops, it became very evident that some hostile measure was in contemplation. A number of war-junks were likewise collected in the Inner Harbour, having troops on board. A considerable body of men were also encamped upon the narrow neck of land which separates Macao from the mainland, and across which there is a so-called Barrier, which forms the line of demarkation, beyond which the Portuguese have no jurisdiction.

This Barrier is composed of a wall, with parapets and a ditch running across the isthmus, and having a gateway, with a guard-house over it, in the centre. Beyond the Barrier the Chinese had very recently thrown up a flanking field-work, mounting about twelve guns, with a view of protecting the rear of the Barrier from the attack of an enemy attempting to land in boats. The war-junks were also placed so close in shore, in the Inner Harbour, as to be able to protect the barrier on that side.

These movements were quite sufficient to prove that some attack was actually contemplated upon Macao itself, and the result of it, if successful, cannot be thought of without horror. But the promptitude and

energy of Captain Smith anticipated the designs of the Chinese, and, by a most decisive and admirably combined movement, he soon scattered the whole Chinese forces like chaff before the wind. Taking with him the Larne and Hyacinth, with the Enterprise steamer and the Louisa cutter, he sailed boldly up towards the Barrier, and ran in as close as the shallowness of the water would permit. He then opened a spirited fire upon the whole of the Chinese works and barracks, which the Chinese returned. Their soldiers were seen mustering from different points, for the defence of the position.

In the course of an hour, the firing of the Chinese was almost silenced; and then a single gun was landed upon the beach, which raked the Chinese position, while a small body of marines, under Lieutenant Maxwell, with some small-arm men from the Druid, under Lieutenant Goldsmith, and about two companies of Bengal volunteers, under Captain Mee, altogether about three hundred and eighty men, landed, and drove the Chinese, with considerable loss, from every one of their positions. On the British side, four men only were wounded. The Chinese guns were spiked, but none were carried away, and the whole of their troops were dispersed, nor did they afterwards approach the barrier, except to carry off the spiked guns. The barracks and other buildings were burned; and all our men having re-embarked late in the evening, the vessels returned to their former anchorage in Macao roads.

Seldom has a more signal service been rendered in so short a space of time, than this well-timed and energetic measure adopted by Captain Smith.

There still remain one or two points worth noticing, in order to complete the series of events which happened in the year 1840. Among these, one of the most important was the issuing of an Order in Council for the establishment of courts of admiralty in China, for the adjudication of prizes, &c. It was to the effect that, "in consideration of the *late injurious proceedings* of certain officers of the Emperor of China towards certain of our officers and subjects, and, whereas, orders had been given that satisfaction and reparation for the same should be demanded from the Chinese government, it was necessary, for the purpose of enforcing those orders, that all vessels and goods belonging to the Emperor of China or *his subjects* should be detained and brought into port; and that, in the event of reparation and satisfaction being refused by the Chinese government, a court of admiralty should be formed for the purpose of adjudging and condemning them as prizes."

This order in council was not acted upon, except on a very limited scale, and for a very brief period. It was afterwards considered more equitable that the burden of the war should be made to fall as much as possible upon the *government* of China, and as little as possible upon the people; and this highly judicious and humane determination was carried out as much as possible, and with the best results, during all the latter part of the war, much to the credit of all concerned.

During the year 1840 very little progress was made in our endeavours to gain over the Chinese people to our interests, or to conciliate their forbearance, in any of the places in which we were brought into contact

with them. At Chusan, in particular, they evinced the most hostile spirit towards us, and lost no opportunity of exhibiting their hatred of the foreigner. It was not without great difficulty even that provisions could be obtained for our men; there was evidently some secret influence which operated to prevent the people from meeting us amicably, and made them, for some time, resist even the temptation of gain, so difficult for a Chinaman to withstand. Nor can this indeed be wondered at. Neither party understood the *character* of the other; and the refusal on their part to supply us with provisions, even for fair payment, could hardly fail to bring hardships upon many who were not in fault, since it was evident that our troops must be supplied with proper food in some way or other. Nothing, however, tended to exhibit their hostile spirit so much as their persevering attempts to carry off our men by stealth, whenever they could find an opportunity; and indeed the kidnapping system was followed up with many circumstances of barbarity to the very close of the war.

This embittered our men very much against the Chinese, and we may almost wonder that their prisoners, when they fell into our hands, received such lenient treatment in return. The story is well known of Captain Anstruther's capture at Chusan, at the distance of only two or three miles from the town, his being tied up in a sack, and subsequently carried over in a boat to Ningpo on the mainland, and the curious history of his confinement in a Bamboo cage, three feet long by two feet broad; and other instances of a similar

kind, in which the prisoners were treated with the utmost barbarity, have been so often recounted, that a passing allusion to them will here be sufficient. Captain Anstruther, however, would seem to have been more leniently treated than many of the other prisoners; and I have heard him declare that, with respect to the better class of mandarins at Ningpo, he had little cause of complaint to urge against them, considering that he was a *prisoner* in an enemy's hands. His talent for drawing, however, enabled him to conciliate their good will, and to earn for himself some indulgences which others were not fortunate enough to procure. He sold his drawings, and particularly his portraits, for a tolerable price. Thus, for instance, he took care that when a mandarin wanted to have his likeness taken, he should give him at least *three sittings*, and for each sitting he required a payment of *twelve pork pies*. In this way his ingenuity enabled him to procure abundance of food, at all events. Many of the other prisoners, however, were treated with frightful barbarity, and, in some instances, they were put to death.

A much more formidable enemy to us than the Chinese was soon discovered, in the terrible sickness which broke out among our troops at Chusan, and carried off many a brave man prematurely to his grave. The low, swampy rice-grounds surrounding the town, the want of proper drainage, the exposure to the hot sun, and the use of the deleterious spirit which the Chinese call Samshoo, made from rice (of which a vast quantity was manufactured on the island for exportation)—all these causes combined sufficed to produce

fever, dysentery, and various complaints, which committed great havoc among the men. The island was subsequently, however, rendered less unhealthy by better arrangements, and by enforcing greater cleanliness.

At Amoy, after the affair of the Blonde, a strict blockade was maintained by the Alligator and other vessels, which interrupted the whole trade of that important commercial city. But none of our ships astonished and alarmed the Chinese so much as the steamers; they were particularly alluded to in the official reports to the emperor, and were described as "having wheels at their sides, which, revolving, propelled them like the wind, enabling them to pass to and fro with great rapidity, acting as leaders:" and it is not surprising that the Chinese should soon have christened them the "Demon Ships."

The effect of our operations to the northward had already been to excite great alarm in the mind of the emperor and of his ministers; indeed, the panic created by the first approach of a hostile force was so great, that a very small body of men might have marched almost from one end of China to the other, so little were the Chinese prepared for resistance. But gradually they recovered their energy, improved their means of defence, adopted better weapons, and cast heavier guns. As far as personal bravery could aid them, they were by no means an enemy to be despised. The spear and the bayonet frequently crossed each other; perhaps more frequently than the bayonets of Europeans do; and, in not a few instances, the *long* spear was more

than a match for the shorter bayonet. Hand-to-hand encounters with the Tartar troops were not uncommon towards the close of the war; and, indeed, many of our men learnt, to their cost, that they had held the Chinese far too cheap. Instances occurred in which the powerful Tartar soldier rushed within the bayonet-guard of his opponent, and grappled with him for life or death.

We may now revert to the period of the arrival of the new Imperial Commissioner Keshen at Canton, with a view to treat with the plenipotentiaries, according to the terms agreed upon at the Peiho, as before mentioned. His predecessor, Lin, whose fall had now commenced, could not resist giving a parting warning to the people, against the continuance of their pernicious habits; and he even ventured to assure them that, if they still persisted, "they would assuredly, one and all of them, be strangled;" and he further told them, quaintly enough, that, "while the allotted period of their probation was not yet finished, they were still *living victims;* but that when it had expired they would become *dead victims*, for that they would certainly be put to death, if they had not learnt to amend their ways." So far then Lin was consistent to the last.

In the beginning of December, the greater part of our naval forces had again assembled below the Bogue, although a squadron was still left to the northward. Notwithstanding that Keshen had arrived for the ostensible purpose of inquiring into and settling all matters in dispute, it was evident that the Chinese were making hostile preparations, with a view to a very different mode

of settlement of the question. A feeling of uncertainty and apprehension prevailed, such as generally precedes some great movement. The Chinese, on their side, were collecting troops, and raising new works; while, on our side, every precaution was taken, in case a resumption of hostilities should be called for.

On the 13th, the Nemesis, which had been for some days at anchor with the fleet, a few miles below Chuenpee, conveyed Captain Elliot down to Macoa, while the rest of the fleet moved nearer up towards the Bogue, as if with the object of supporting the "negociations" by a firm display of power. Captain Elliot's stay at Macoa was very short; and, from the increased activity of our preparations at the Bogue, it became evident that the "negociations" were not going on satisfactorily. Scaling ladders were now being made on board the ships, and a landing-stage for disembarking the troops was constructed on board the Nemesis, which, from her light draught of water, was likely to be employed for that particular purpose.

Numerous communications were passing between Macao and our fleet at the Bogue; Captain Elliot himself went backwards and forwards several times in the Nemesis; and the moment seemed fast approaching when some very decided blow was to be struck.

The following description of the scene of operations will therefore be found interesting. About twenty-two to twenty-five miles above the island of Lintin, before described, and consequently about the same distance above Tongkoo Bay, on the same side of the river, is a projecting headland, about a mile and a quarter wide,

distinguished at a considerable distance by the high peak in which its summit terminates. On either side of it there is a fine sandy beach, off which there is a good anchorage. This is Chuenpee.

The hill, which is its principal feature, stands rather towards the northern side of the promontory, and is divided into two conical eminences, upon one of which there was a high building, resembling a watch-tower, which was now fortified, and formed a conspicuous object as you ascend the river. At the bottom of the hill there were a considerable stone battery and other works. The whole of these had been very recently strengthened and extended. A line of entrenchment, with mud batteries, had also been carried round the rear. Behind the hill also, in an opening looking towards the north, or into Anson's Bay, another small battery had been erected, with an enclosed space or square for barracks, surrounded by a parapet wall.

The extent of these works was not properly known until the attack upon the place had commenced. It was generally believed that the promontory and hill of Chuenpee were connected with the mainland; and it was not until some time after the place was taken that the discovery was made, as will presently be described, that Chuenpee was, in reality, *an island*.[1]

On the opposite or western side of the river, which is here about three miles wide, is another smaller promontory, called Tycocktow, with a line of strong batteries close along the shore, faced with granite. This

[1] See map.

was also subsequently found to be an *island*. The whole of the country which borders the river is mountainous and picturesque.

Returning again to the east side, about four to five miles above Chuenpee, we come to the high hill and fortifications of Anunghoy, the most important of the works at the Bogue. Between Chuenpee and Anunghoy lies the beautiful bay called Anson's Bay, about two miles deep; on one side of which it was at one time proposed to found an English town. Anunghoy, like Chuenpee, was discovered to be also an *island;* and that circumstance, as will be afterwards seen, was a source of great anxiety to Keshen, who saw the consequent weakness of the position of Anunghoy, and reported it to the emperor. In fact, our light squadron might have probably gone up the river by the passage at the back of Anunghoy, without passing through the Bogue at all. But these facts were not then known.

The works at Anunghoy consisted of two very strong, heavy batteries, built of excellent granite, and partly of the composition called chunam. The masses of stone were afterwards found to be of immense size, so much so, that it was no easy task to blow the works to pieces, even after they were taken. The two principal batteries were connected together by temporary works of recent construction; and, according to the usual Chinese practice, a semicircular wall was carried round the rear of each fort along the side of the hill.

The breadth of the river from Anunghoy to the opposite side is from two to three miles, being somewhat less than it is lower down between Chuenpee and Ty-

cocktow. But in the very middle of the river in this part, are two rocky islands, called North and South Wantung, of moderate elevation, and also a smaller rock, scarcely visible at high water. Hence there are two channels up the river, one on either side of these islands; but that on the east side towards Anunghoy is the one which had always been frequented by foreign ships, and was considered to be the Bocca Tigris, or Bogue.

The passage on the western side of Wantung was not only not frequented by Europeans, but not even known to be navigable, until our preparations were made for the capture of the Bogue forts, when some of our ships passed up on that side to the attack of North Wantung. The true Bogue, or eastern passage, is only about three quarters of a mile wide; the current, or rather the tide, is very rapid, on which account ships generally prefer keeping rather near to the Anunghoy side. Of the two islands called Wantung, the northern is the highest and largest, lying quite opposite Anunghoy, and was very strongly fortified. South Wantung, the smaller island, was not fortified by the Chinese, being not considered by them of sufficient importance to require it. It lies some distance lower down the river, and, looking at their relative positions, you would hardly suppose they were within effectual gun-shot distance from each other. Such, however, was the case; and the Chinese forts on North Wantung were shelled from South Wantung by a small battery, constructed by a detachment of our troops in a single night, being covered during their work principally by the Nemesis, which ran close in shore for that purpose, being herself sheltered by the island.

Further to obstruct the passage up the Bogue, the Chinese had carried an immense chain, or rather a double chain, across it, supported by large rafts from one side to the other, one end of it being secured at Anunghoy, and the other end being fastened into a rock near South Wantung, which was nearly covered at high water. To complete the account of these famous defences, it only remains to mention another fort on the western side of the river, nearly opposite Wantung, which was called Little Tycocktow, and was not of recent construction. By the Chinese themselves these extensive works were considered impregnable, for they had not yet experienced the tremendous effect of the concentrated fire of line-of-battle ships.

Tiger Island can scarcely be said to form part of the Bocca Tigris; it lies nearly two miles above Wantung; and, although there was a considerable stone battery on its eastern side, it was not likely to be of any service, and the Chinese wisely abandoned it, and removed the guns. This island, however, is a remarkable feature in the general aspect of the river, being in reality a high rocky mountain, cleft in two at the top, and presenting to view several deep chasms on both sides, yet clothed with verdure in some parts, while it is rudely broken up in others. It is altogether a very peculiar object, although it cannot be said to bear much resemblance to a tiger's head, from which it takes its name.

CHAPTER XIII.

Keshen's negociations—Gains courage as he gains time—General remarks —Influence and character of the Empress — Emperor's eulogy of her —Agitation in China — Heu Naetze's memorial — Reference to Tang and his colleagues—Predictions of a former Emperor — Memorials on the opposite side—Choo Tsun and Heu Kew—Reformation of morals —Death and funeral of the Empress — Character of the present Emperor — Ascended the throne in 1820 — Observations — Further remarks on the character of Lin — English books translated for him — His letters to the Queen of England — Character of his successor, Keshen — An astute and polished courtier — Severity of his punishment — Commencement of 1841 — Hostilities — Attack on Chuenpee and Tycocktow, on the 7th of January — Details of forces engaged— Remarks on the action — Services of the Nemesis — Sufferings of the wounded Chinese—Burnt by ignition of their own clothes.

The Imperial Commissioner Keshen now wisely resolved to gain as much time as he could by negociation; and seemed in the first instance to have almost equalled his predecessor Lin, in his desire "to control the foreigners, and to reduce them to submission." His conferences with that functionary, who now remained at Canton as viceroy, were numerous and confidential; but, instead of precipitating the crisis by mad violence, he professed to trust rather to the "employment of *truth* and the *utmost reason*" to attain his ends. But these are mere figures of speech among the Chinese, and have

little of the nature of those principles which they are supposed to indicate.

Keshen's cautiousness was at once shown by the instructions which he issued respecting the nature of the *white flag*, and by his enjoining that for the future the troops were "not rashly to open their artillery, without *first* ascertaining what was the purpose of the approach of any boat bearing such a flag." And, moreover, that "they were not to *provoke* hostilities, by being the first to fire on the foreign ships, nor in their *desire for honours* to endeavour to create trouble." Nevertheless, he added, "negociations are *not yet* settled, and the troops must not be idly off their guard." On his side, likewise, Captain Elliot was quite as anxious to avoid a collision as Keshen himself: and thus affairs went on until the close of the year, without any approach whatever to a solution of the difficulties. Keshen exhibited a vast deal of tact and

> "——— *cunning*, which in fools supplies,
> And amply, too, the place of being wise."

Great as our force already was even at that period, it does not at all seem to have intimidated Keshen, who appeared to gain courage as he gained time. Indeed, it could hardly be expected that the ancient barrier of Chinese pride and self-sufficiency would crumble down before a single blow, however strong; and even the chief actor in the scene himself hesitated long to strike, when he knew that it would make an empire tremble.

But the great, the haughty, the mysterious China, was at length destined to *bend*, and gradually to open

wide her portals to the proud barbarian's resistless intercourse. Among the important personages who contributed indirectly to bring about this wonderful result, perhaps not the least remarkable was the Empress herself, to whom some allusion has already been made. Very little was heard concerning her at the time, in remote parts of the world, and therefore a few additional notices must be interesting. She must, indeed, have been a person of no ordinary character, who could have raised herself, by her talents and her fascinations, to a seat upon the throne of the Emperor of China. Her early history is little recorded, but her influence was secretly known and felt in almost every part of the empire, even before she obtained the short-lived honours of an empress.

It is difficult to imagine how any woman, brought up in the subordinate position which is alone allotted to the sex in China, with the imperfect education which is there attainable, and with all the prejudices of her early life, and the proud assumption of superiority of the other sex to contend against, could have had imparted to her the peculiar tone of character which she possessed. In her attempts to reform and to improve, she never ceased to be *Chinese;* indeed, she seems to have thought that to *restore* what was fallen to decay was the best kind of reform. She sought the removal of abuse, the purification of public offices, and the improvement of the details of administration throughout the country. Her influence became paramount; and those who could not be gained by her arguments are said to have been led by her fascinations.

The words of the Emperor's public eulogy of the empress, after her death, will in a measure point out this feature in her character. He declared that "she was overflowing with kindness to all, lovely and winning." She held control over the hearts of those about her, not by dint of authority, but by gentleness and forbearance. "Her intercourse," he added, "lightened for me the burden of government, and the charm she spread around conciliated all hearts. And now I am alone and sad."

It may surely be pardoned to such a person that she had her favourites; but amongst them she reckoned many that were talented; and in her choice of persons for high employment, she possessed the most valuable of all talents to those who are called upon to exercise their power of selection—that of distinguishing not merely abstract merit, but of discerning those less conspicuous qualities of the mind which constitute *fitness* for office and aptitude for public distinction.

The greatest influence of the Empress seems to have been exercised about the years 1835 and 1836, and it was just at that period that the question was so keenly debated, at court and elsewhere, whether opium should be permitted, under certain modified regulations, or whether it were possible to put an end to the traffic by force, and to *drive the nation* from its use by fear. This was evidently the commencement of a new era in that country, for whatever might be the result of the debate upon this important question in the Chinese cabinet, the effect of it was to occasion the agitation of the subject throughout the empire. Agitation in China!

But a spirit of change had now begun to tincture even the minds of true Chinamen, and the amiable Empress herself became affected by, and even in a measure encouraged, that movement. The vice-president of the sacrificial board, by name Heu Naetze, and others, amongst whom was reckoned also Keshen, belonged to the immediate favourites of the Empress, and but for that high protection it is probable that Heu Naetze would hardly have ventured to present his famous memorial in favour of the legalization of the opium-trade.

His chief and most important argument was, not that it would be a good thing in itself, but that it would be perfectly impossible to prevent it by any means the government could adopt; and also that foreign trade generally was of importance to China, from the revenue which it produced, and the employment which it gave to the people. He showed how totally ineffectual every increase of punishment, even to death itself, had proved, for the prevention of the practice, which, on the contrary, had increased tenfold; and he then went on to make it evident that "when opium was purchased secretly, it could only be exchanged with silver; but that, if it were permitted to be bought openly, it would be paid for in the productions of the country." And he cleverly adds: "the dread of the laws is not so great among the people as the *love of gain*, which unites them to all manner of crafty devices, so that sometimes the law is rendered wholly ineffective." But he would still prohibit all public officers, scholars, and soldiers, from using it, under pain of instant dismissal from the public service.

It is known that the Empress received this recommendation with particular favour, but the Emperor referred it for the consideration of the crafty old Tang, the governor of Canton, who was at the very time deriving a large revenue from winking at the clandestine sale of the drug. The answer of Tang and his colleagues was decidedly favourable to the project. They declared that " the *circumstances of the times* rendered a change in the regulations necessary." They openly admitted that the payment of distinct duties would be far less onerous than the payment of *bribes;* that the laws could then be administered, and would be *respected;* and that the precious metals, which were now oozing out of the empire, would then be retained in it. They even went so far as to say that the *dignity* of the government would by no means be lowered by it; and they further declared that the prohibition of the luxury made it more eagerly sought for.

Here then was clearly another triumph on the Empress's side; and those who were opposed to her principles feared it as such, and redoubled their efforts to produce her fall. But the recommendation did not even stop at that point; for it went so far as even to encourage the cultivation and preparation of the poppy within the empire, in order to exclude a portion of the foreign article from the market.

One might have supposed that the influences which were now at work to produce a better state of foreign trade, backed by the countenance of the Empress, and supported by the apparent neutrality of the Emperor, would have sufficed to occasion some modification in the existing laws.

Keshen himself, who had what is called a long head, though in good favour with the Empress, and influential in the country, seems to have remained at that time neutral upon the question in agitation. Others, however, showed a bitter hostility to every change, but bitterest of all to the whole race of foreigners. When they could no longer argue with success against the principles of what might be called the free-trade party, they raked up all the smouldering ashes of deadly hostility to foreigners, because they were *not Chinese* (however estimable they might otherwise be), and they appealed to an old saying of the Emperor Kanghe, the grandfather of his present Majesty, namely, "that there is cause for apprehension lest, in centuries to come, *China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the West, who come hither from beyond the seas.*" Indeed it is well known that there prevailed in China a tradition to that effect; and also another, "that China would be conquered by a woman, in time to come." And so generally were these two predictions or traditions remembered during the war, that the impression came to prevail among many of the people, that it would be useless to resist us, because we were a people from the far west, and were ruled by a queen.

The two principal memorials on the opposite side of the question have been pretty generally circulated; one being by Choo Tsun, a member of council and of the Board of Rites, the other by Heu Kew, a censor of the military department. They argued for the *dignity* of the empire, and the danger "of *instability* in maintaining the laws." They called for increased severity of

the law itself, not only to *prevent* the exportation of *silver*, but to arrest the *enervation* and destruction of the people, and they openly declared their belief that the purpose of the English was to weaken the people and to ruin the central land; and they further appealed to all the "luminous admonitions" of the emperors and others of olden days against the influence of foreigners. Memorials also came in from many of the provinces, particularly those along the coast, showing that even the army had become contaminated by opium, and that soldiers sent against the rebels in recent seditions were found to have very little strength left, though their numbers were large. In short, the whole of the memorialists on the *anti-importation* side argued to the effect that increased severity *could* stop the use of opium, and therefore that it *ought* to be stopped, because it tended to enervate the people, and make them an easy prey to the foreigner, while the quantity of silver exported enriched the latter in proportion as it impoverished the former. Thus the hatred of opium and detestation of the foreigner became very nearly synonymous.

At length, when the Emperor's beloved son died from the effects of opium in the imperial palace, then the grief of the emperor, and the conviction of the misery produced by the drug, worked upon his feelings fully as much as upon his judgment. An attempt was made to place the question upon *moral* grounds; and the Emperor affected on a sudden to weep for the misfortunes of the nation, and to lament the depravity of his "dear children:" and his paternal heart, in the exuberance of

its benignity, determined to cut off all their heads, if they would not mend their ways. Thus, by degrees, the reformation of morals became the subject of agitation quite as much as the principles of trade had been before.

By this time, the influence of the poor Empress had quite declined. She forgot that, in making many friends, she had made many influential enemies. Neither her beauty nor her talents could save her, and she fell rapidly from her pinnacle of power. She only lived to share the Emperor's throne for about five or six years; a very short, but remarkable, reign. She could not survive the loss of her power; and, when her opponents so completely recovered theirs, her proud spirit sunk under the weight which pressed upon her.

Nothing could be more touching than the expressions of the Emperor, published in the Pekin Gazette. He calls her a perfect pattern of "filial piety;" and therefore bestows upon her the posthumous title of the "perfectibility of filial obedience." It should be here remarked that what they call "filial piety" is the highest moral attribute in the Chinese system of ethics.

The Empress died in the beginning of 1840, and was buried with great pomp; the whole nation was ordered to go into mourning for a month, and the public officers were not to shave their heads for one hundred days, as a mark of their sorrow. Her death left the Emperor Taoukwang surrounded by troubles and dangers in his old age, with few about him whom he could trust, and none to comfort him in his difficulties. She left two or three young children. But he had six children by his

former wife, of whom nearly all, or, it is believed, more than half, have died.

The Emperor was born on the 20th September, 1782, and is therefore upwards of sixty-one years old. He ascended the throne in 1820. The troubles and continual disturbances which have marked his reign, the frequent rebellions and disorders which have long been the constant theme of his animadversions in the Pekin Gazette, may perhaps be considered less as the result of his own measures than as the marking features of the present era in Chinese history. He ascended the throne when disorders were almost at their height, and when a conspiracy had already broken out in his father's palace. Indeed, he was expressly selected by his father to be his successor (although not the *eldest*, but the second son), because he had on a former occasion distinguished himself by his energy and success in crushing a traitorous attempt within the palace.

The Emperor appears to be an amiable but weak man, well intentioned towards his people, sensible of the difficulties of his country, but, at the same time, blinded and misinformed by the favourites about him, and retaining too many early prejudices to be able thoroughly to cope with all the difficulties which have from time to time beset him.

The next most important character who figured at the period which has been already alluded to was Commissioner Lin, of whom so much has been said. The principal features of his character have been already delineated. He is described as having been stout in person, with a vivacious but not unpleasant manner,

unless highly excited; with a keen, dark, penetrating eye, which seemed to indicate that he could assume two opposite characters, according as it might suit his interest or his ambition. He had a clear, distinct voice, and is said to have rarely smiled. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care. In the course of his proceedings at Canton, he seems never to have permitted himself to adopt the character of a "negociator," but invariably to have assumed that of a "dictator," which was more natural to him. His word was law. He was not dismayed by sudden difficulties, and appears to have been quite sincere in all his wishes to arrest the progress of the evils he complained of, and to reform the morals of the people. With this object, he closed all the gaming-houses at Canton, which were as numerous as the opium-shops, or more so, and were generally maintained in conjunction with the latter; so much do vices court each other's company.

In reality, Lin feared the foreigners as much as he hated them. But the intercourse he now had with them led him to value their knowledge more highly, and probably he knew full well that knowledge is power. He had portions of English works translated for his own use, such as Thelwall's pamphlet against opium, Murray's geography (parts), &c.; and he had in his employ three or four young Chinamen, who knew something of English, and of English habits, having visited the straits' settlements, and one of them the United States. His scheme of writing to the Queen of England was certainly remarkable, and his two letters were curious documents in themselves; perfect models of the bombastic style,

yet, withal, not altogether destitute of specious sayings. The following specimens of the former will here suffice. He says, "The powerful instrumentality whereby the celestial court holds in subjection *all* nations is truly divine and awe-inspiring!" He then takes care to add that "the English had on various occasions sent tribute (alluding probably to the presents of Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst), and that it was entirely owing to the *emperor's benevolence* that England had become so great and flourishing as it is *said to be!*"

Lin was by no means wanting in energy to meet the great crisis which he had contributed so much to produce. In addition to the enlisting of troops, the preparation of defences, the casting of guns, building of fire-vessels and gun-boats, &c., he directed that many passages of the river should be blocked up with stones, and others staked across with piles. When, at length, he received the reproof of the Emperor, written with the vermilion pencil, he stated in reply, "that prostrate he had beat his head upon the ground, oppressed with shame and grief." A year has passed, he adds, and yet the opium is *not* excluded; he confesses his inability, and begs that his master will visit him with the heaviest punishment, that his incapacity may be a warning to others. It is a remarkable circumstance that he distinctly declares that Captain Elliot had petitioned him to *receive* the opium, and adds, in proof of it, that he possesses the original petition, written in English and Chinese. But, whether true or not, he omits to tell his master that he already had Captain Elliot, and all the

foreign community, secure within his grasp, and had refused them not only food, but even water.

In short, Lin was a bold, uncompromising, and specious man. He tried to console the Emperor, by assuring him that he was quite certain that, along the northern coast, sickness and cold would carry off all the barbarian forces, even if the want of food, and the exhaustion of their powder and shot, did not reduce them to extremities. He never once alluded to any probability of being able to beat off the barbarians in fair fight.

With regard to his successor, Keshen, who next came upon the stage of public life, his character will be better developed as we proceed. But it is worth while here to remark, that Keshen appears to have been one of the few about the court who began to apprehend serious consequences from Lin's measures. He had always been cautious in committing himself, and though no friend of the foreigners, he had feared their power, and felt the weakness of his own country, as well as the necessity of trying some other measures than those means hitherto employed, to put a stop to the perpetual disturbances which took place in several parts of the empire, and threatened rebellion even within the capital.

Keshen was an astute courtier, a polished and well-mannered man, and all those who were present at either of his two interviews with Captain Elliot were struck with his courteous and gentlemanlike manner. Although he made every preparation for resistance, he seems to have thought he could gain more by diplomacy, and he resolved to take advantage of the disposition for negociation rather than dictation on Captain Elliot's part,

to play his cards with tact and cunning, in the hope of gaining time. But he saw his weakness, and the impossibility of contending with success against our forces, and, having distinctly reported thereon to the Emperor, he was, of course, set down as a coward, and, consequently, as a traitor. He had the boldness to tell the Emperor the actual weakness of his strongest points of defence; whereas, Lin only stated how much stronger they *would* have been, had the government made it a rule to have devoted ten per cent. of the whole customs' revenue of Canton to the improvement of their means of defence, the building of ships, and the casting of cannon.

In one thing, however, Lin and Keshen were both of a mind—namely, as to the importance of the foreign trade of Canton to the imperial revenue. They ventured to correct the Emperor's notion that the customs' duties of Canton were "unimportant, and not worth a thought," by telling him that they "already" produced upwards of thirty millions of taels, or ten millions sterling, and that, as the revenue of Canton far *exceeded* that of any other province, a portion of this considerable sum, which was obtained *from* foreigners, should have been applied to defending themselves *against* foreigners.[1]

Much has at various times been said about Keshen's

[1] If Lin was correct in saying that the revenues derived from foreign trade for the Emperor's chest amounted to ten millions sterling, how enormous must have been the *whole* revenues paid by that trade, when we know that the imperial revenues scarcely formed a *third* of what was actually paid in various ways!

treachery and bad faith. But it will be seen as we proceed that he was driven into these acts by the distinct orders of the Emperor, and that keeping faith with *us* was to be viewed as treachery to his master. Indeed, the severity of Keshen's punishment at the Emperor's hands proves not so much how ill he served his master, as how unfortunate he was in having a much more profound head than Lin, in being able to see further into futurity, and to catch the shadows of coming events; in short, how much too far in advance of his countrymen he was, in being able to appreciate their position in the face of the foreigner, and how unfortunate in *presuming* to attempt to ward off the dreaded blow by timely concession.

Without venturing to anticipate further the remarkable points in Keshen's career, which will be better developed as we proceed, we may now turn our attention to the interesting events of the year 1841.

We have already seen that there was little probability, at the close of 1840, of any satisfactory arrangement being made between Keshen and Captain Elliot without a resort to arms. Accordingly, all preparations were completed; and, the first week in January having passed without any nearer prospect of a settlement, although repeated opportunities had been given to Keshen to arrange matters amicably, as had been proposed at the conference at Trentsin, orders were at length issued for the immediate resumption of hostilities. The morning of the 7th of January, 1841, was the period fixed on for the attack upon the forts at Chuenpee and Tycocktow, being the lowest, or, in other words, the first, you approach in ascending the river.

The object was to reduce the whole of the famous defences of the Bogue one after the other, and, if necessary, to destroy them. It will be seen, however, that a considerable pause occurred before they were all at last captured.

The plan of attack upon Chuenpee, and the forts on the opposite side of the river at Tycocktow, was as follows, under the direction of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, who, it will be remembered, had become commander-in-chief upon the retirement of Rear-Admiral the Honourable George Elliot, in consequence of severe illness. The troops, comprising detachments of the 26th and 49th regiments, (the greater part of which were with their head-quarters at Chusan) under Major Johnstone of the 26th, together with the whole of the 37th Madras Native Infantry, under Captain Duff of that regiment, and a detachment of the Bengal Volunteers, under Captain Bolton, were to embark on board the Enterprise and Madagascar steamers by eight o'clock in the morning, to be conveyed to the point of debarkation, which was selected about two miles and a half below Chuenpee, to the southward, where they were to be landed in boats. The Nemesis took on board a large portion of the 37th. A battalion of royal marines, upwards of five hundred strong, under Captain Ellis, were to be landed in the boats of their respective ships; while a body of seamen under Lieutenant Wilson, of the Blenheim, were also to join the landing force. A small detachment of the royal artillery was to be under the command of Captain Knowles, R. A., having under him the Honourable C. Spencer; and one twenty-four

pounder howitzer, with two six-pounder guns, one from the Wellesley, and one from the Melville, were to be landed, together with thirty seamen, to be attached to them for the purpose of placing them in position; also fifteen men from the Blenheim were to be employed in the rocket and ammunition service.

In front of the Chinese entrenchments there was a ridge, by which in a manner they were commanded, and upon the crest of this the guns were to be placed. While this was being done, strong covering parties were to be pushed in advance, and to act according to circumstances, waiting for the effect of the fire from the guns, as well as from the ships, which were to be placed in the best positions for silencing the batteries.

The whole of the force on shore was under the command of Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, and comprised altogether about one thousand five hundred men.[1]

As regards the naval force engaged, it was ordered that the Queen and Nemesis steamers should proceed to take up a position within good shelling distance, ac-

[1] FORCE EMPLOYED ON SHORE IN THE CAPTURE OF CHUENPEE.

	Non-com. officers and privates.
Royal artillery, under command of Captain Knowles, Royal Artillery	33
Seamen, under Lieutenant Wilson, of H. M. S. Blenheim	137
Detachments of the 26th and 49th regiments, under Major Johnstone, of the 26th regiment	104
Royal marine battalion, under Captain Ellis, of the Wellesley	504
37th Madras Native Infantry, under Captain Duff, 37th N. I.	607
Detachment of Bengal Volunteers, under Captain Bolton	76
	1461

together with thirty seamen attached to the guns.

cording as the depth of water would permit; and at once to commence firing into the fort upon the summit of the hill. Having rendered this post untenable, and having watched the advance of the troops, which might be selected to take possession of it, they were then immediately to attack the lower fort, along the shore near the northern point, if it should not have been already abandoned or carried. Meanwhile, the fire from the fort above, by this time expected to be in possession of a portion of our troops, was also to be turned in the same direction; and, when the enemy should be driven out, they were to be "dealt with" by the remaining part of the troops.

The Madagascar and Enterprise steamers, as soon as they had landed their troops, were to join the division under Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert, in the Calliope, having with him the Larne, Captain Blake, and the Hyacinth, Captain Warren. They were directed to proceed to attack the batteries, towards the northern extremity, as well as in front, and to be prepared to proceed to capture some of the numerous war-junks, which were seen at anchor at the bottom of Anson's Bay. The two steamers above mentioned were also to hold themselves in readiness to go alongside any ship that might chance to require their services.

Captain Belcher, of the Sulphur surveying vessel, was to take upon himself the general charge of the steamers in the first instance, so far as concerned "the placing them in a position already ascertained by him;" which, probably, referred to the position to be taken up

for shelling the upper fort, as well as to the point of debarkation for the troops.

Such, then, was the plan of attack upon Chuenpee; that of Tycocktow will follow better when the account of the Chuenpee action is completed.

The landing and re-embarkation of the forces was under the direction of Lieutenant Symons, of the Wellesley, and the whole of it was conducted with great regularity. The landing of any considerable body of troops is always an exciting scene; but now for the first time in the history of China, if we except the trifling affair at the barrier at Macao, European troops were about to meet in battle the sons of the "flowery nation," upon the very soil of the "Celestial Empire." Nor did the Chinese shrink from the contest in the first instance, for they had yet to learn the irresistible power of European warfare, and the destructive efficacy of European weapons.

The leading troops were the royal marines and the royal artillery, the guns being dragged along by the blue jackets. The road lay through a winding valley for nearly the distance of a couple of miles, until it led to a transverse ridge, from which the whole of the Chinese works could be viewed, consisting of a strong entrenched camp, flanked by small field-batteries of recent and hasty construction, and connected with the Hill Fort above, by a high breastwork continued up the hill towards it.

The object of the Chinese was evidently to protect the rear of the fort, which was plainly the key of the position. In the rear of their field-batteries were deep trenches for giving shelter to their men from our shot,

and the Chinese could be seen lining the works, and waving their flags in defiance.

The guns of the royal artillery were soon in position upon the ridge, and began firing with great precision into the entrenched camp; while an advanced party of the royal marines, crossing the shoulder of the hill to the right, drove the Chinese speedily from it; and, then descending into the valley beyond, came upon a second encampment, with a small field-battery, which was soon cleared. A detachment of the 37th M. N. Infantry had also been sent further round to the right of the advance, where they encountered the Chinese in some force.

While all these operations were going on, The Queen and the Nemesis steamers (the latter having first rapidly disembarked her portion of the 37th, with the main body of the force) took up a position within good shelling distance of the Hill Fort. The Nemesis, from her light draught of water, was enabled to take up her station *inside* The Queen, and both vessels commenced throwing shell with great precision into the fort, much to the astonishment of the Chinese, who were unacquainted with this engine of destruction.

Captain Hall had on this occasion, as on several subsequent ones, the able assistance, as a gunnery officer, of Mr. Crouch, one of the mates of the Wellesley, who was permitted to serve for a time on board the Nemesis.[1]

[1] In the official report of Captain Belcher, and on a subsequent occasion, it is stated, by mistake, that Mr. Crouch was serving on board The Queen. This active young officer well deserved the promotion which he soon obtained. He was unfortunately wounded at the close of the war, at Chin-Keang-Foo.

The Chinese could not long withstand the fire of the 68-pounder of The Queen, and the two 32-pounder pivot-guns of the Nemesis, the shells from which could be seen bursting within the walls of the fort.

At the same time, on the land-side, the principal entrenched camp had by this time been carried by the main body of the troops, and, twenty-five minutes after the shelling of the fort had commenced, the British flag was seen waving upon its top, and the firing ceased. Major Pratt himself, with only two marines, had been the first to run up the hill and reach the fort; upon which the Chinese, seeing that they were pressed behind as well as before, abandoned the fort in great confusion, leaving Major Pratt and his followers in possession of this most important position, upon which the British flag was hoisted by a royal marine.

The Nemesis, as soon as this was perceived, hastened on to join the ships of war, (the Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth) which had taken up their positions nearly within musket-shot of the lower batteries, and were doing great execution. The works were, however, constructed of strong material, comprising large blocks of the composition called chunam, very much resembling stone, but less fragile. The Nemesis came up just in time to pour in several discharges of grape and canister from both the pivot-guns, and had then to witness one of the most dreadful spectacles of war. The Chinese in the battery had already been assailed by our troops from the fort above; and now a party of the royal marines, and the 37th M. N. I., which had previously cleared the second camp in the valley behind, were seen coming

round the hill, ready to pounce upon them as they attempted to escape out of the fort. The unfortunate men were thus hemmed in on all sides; and, being unacquainted with the humane practice of modern warfare, of giving and receiving quarter, they abandoned themselves to the most frantic despair.

Now were to be seen some of those horrors of war which, when the excitement of the moment is over, and the interest as well as danger of strategic manœuvres are at an end, none can remember without regret and pain. The Chinese, not accepting quarter, though attempting to escape, were cut up by the fire of our advancing troops; others, in the faint hope of escaping what to them appeared certain death at the hands of their victors, precipitated themselves recklessly from the top of the battlements; numbers of them were now swimming in the river, and not a few vainly *trying* to swim, and sinking in the effort; some few, however, perhaps a hundred, surrendered themselves to our troops, and were soon afterwards released. Many of the poor fellows were unavoidably shot by our troops, who were not only warmed with the previous fighting, but exasperated because the Chinese had fired off their matchlocks at them first, and then threw them away, as if to ask for quarter; under these circumstances, it could not be wondered at that they suffered. Some again barricaded themselves within the houses of the fort, a last and desperate effort; and, as several of our soldiers were wounded by their spears, death and destruction were the consequence.

The slaughter was great; nor could it be easily controlled when the men were irritated by the protracted

and *useless* attacks which were made upon them from behind walls and hiding-places, even *after* the British flag was hoisted. It is wonderful that the casualties among the men were not more numerous.

The commandant of the fort was killed at the head of his men; and it is related that his son, as soon as he found that his father was dead, resolving not to survive him, and being unable to avenge his death, jumped into the sea, in spite of all remonstrance, and was drowned.

Those who have witnessed the individual bravery, be it courage or be it despair, frequently exhibited by the Chinese during the war, in almost every encounter, will be slow to stamp them as a cowardly people, however inefficient they may be as fighting men in armed bodies, against European discipline and modern weapons.

The most painful of all the scenes on this occasion was that of the bodies of men burnt perhaps to death when wounded.

It is well known that the bow and arrow is the favourite weapon of the Tartar troops, upon the dexterous use of which they set the highest claim to military distinction. The spear also, of various forms and fashions, is a favourite weapon both of Tartars and Chinese; but the matchlock, which in all respects very nearly resembles some of the old European weapons of the same name, except that the bore is generally somewhat smaller, is of much more modern introduction, and by no means so much in favour with the Chinese; this is occasioned principally by the danger arising from the use of the powder, in the careless way in which they carry it. They have a pouch in front, fastened round the body,

and the powder is contained loose in a certain number of little tubes inside the pouch, not rolled up like our cartridges.

Of course, every soldier has to carry a match or portfire to ignite the powder in the matchlock when loaded. Hence, when a poor fellow is wounded and falls, the powder, which is very apt to run out of his pouch over his clothes, is very likely to be ignited by his own match, and in this way he may either be blown up at once, or else his clothes may be ignited; indeed, it is not impossible that the match itself may be sufficient to produce this effect; it is therefore not surprising that they should regard the matchlock with some little apprehension. At Chuenpee, many bodies were found after the action not only scorched, but completely burnt, evidently from the ignition of the powder; although it is to be hoped that many of these were dead before their clothes caught fire.

In one of the latest encounters during the war, at Chapoo, where a few of the Tartars defended themselves so desperately in a house in which they had taken refuge, they were seen stripping themselves altogether, in order to escape the effect of the fire upon their combustible clothes when the building was in flames; and many other instances of a similar kind were noticed during the war.

With respect to the attack upon the fort at Tycocktow, on the opposite side of the river, the Nemesis was not concerned in that part of the operations of the 7th January. The force employed on that service was placed under the orders of Captain Scott, of the Samarang, 26;

and consisted, in addition to that vessel, of the Druid, 44, Captain Smith; the Modeste, 18, Commander Eyres; and Columbine, 16, Commander Clarke. Captain Scott was directed to proceed to attack the forts upon Tycocktow, and to dismantle them, spiking the guns, and destroying the forts as much as possible; after which, he was to take up a convenient position in reference to the expected operations against the proper Bogue forts higher up.

Captain Scott led the way gallantly in the Samarang, without returning the fire of the Chinese, until he dropped anchor within cable's length of the middle of the fort. The Modeste, Druid, and Columbine came up almost directly after, and then commenced the terrific thunder of artillery, which soon sufficed to shatter the walls, and to make a breach, through which the seamen and marines, which were landed from the ships, soon carried the fort by storm. The Chinese fled in all directions up the hill, but not without witnessing, to their cost, the deadly effect of our musketry upon their confused bodies; nor did they yield without shewing some instances of bold personal courage.

The attack through the breach was led by Lieutenant Bowers, first lieutenant of the Samarang, who received a sabre cut across the knee; which shews that the Chinese did not run away without first coming to close quarters; their loss, however, was considerable. The guns in the fort were all spiked, and then thrown into the sea; the magazines and other buildings were set on fire (the wounded having been first removed); but it was not thought necessary to pursue the Chinese further.

As soon as these operations had been completed, the whole of the party which had landed, comprising the boats' crews of all the ships engaged, returned on board. Part of them had proceeded to attack the northern end of the fort, namely, those of the Druid and Columbine, and were commanded by Lieutenant Goldsmith, (since promoted) and great praise was given to all the officers and men concerned, for their gallantry and good conduct. The number of guns destroyed was twenty-five; those which were captured at Chuenpee amounted altogether to sixty-six pieces, of various calibre, including those in the entrenchments, as well as those upon the upper and lower forts. Many of the guns, however, were not mounted, shewing that the preparations for defence had not been completed; some were only 6-pounders, but a great portion of the remainder were about equal to our own 12-pounder guns. Of course, they were all rendered unserviceable.

The operations of this day have not yet, however, been all described. So far as relates to Chuenpee and Tycocktow, little remains to be added, except that the killed and wounded, on the part of the land force, on our side, amounted to thirty; and on that of the naval force, to eight men and officers. But the destruction of the war-junks in Anson's Bay also formed part of the feats of this day; and, as it more particularly relates to the Nemesis, it shall be reserved for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Destruction of Chinese squadron in Anson's Bay—Nemesis and boats—Description of Chinese position — River at the bottom of the bay—Explosion of a junk — Chinese trying to escape — Junks abandoned and set on fire — Nemesis proceeds up the river — Captures two more junks at a town—Killed and wounded on the 7th January—Number of guns taken—Admiral Kwan loses his button of rank—New Chinese boarding-nettings — Novel application — Description of new kinds of war-junks — With English guns—Wheeled boats — Orders of the Emperor to build ships on European models—Official report of the actions to the Emperor by Keshen—Degradation of Admiral Kwan—New plans to destroy the English ships—Preparations to attack the Bogue forts — Disappointment — Truce—Cession of Hong Kong—Restoration of the forts — Remarks on Captain Elliot's measures—Troops ordered to withdraw from Chusan.

The total destruction of the Chinese squadron of war-junks, on the day of the action of Chuenpee (7th January), under the orders of Admiral Kwan, completed the discomfiture of the Chinese by sea and by land. The engagement took place in Anson's Bay, which has already been described as lying between Chuenpee and Anunghoy. The Nemesis here took a most distinguished part; and some of the boats of the Calliope, Hyacinth, Larne, Sulphur, and Starling, co-operated with her in the action, in which Lieutenants Watson and Harrison, and other officers of the Calliope and Larne, deservedly won their laurels.

At the bottom of Anson's Bay was the entrance of a small river, unknown until now, having a small island at its mouth, somewhat on the Chuenpee side. Within this, and in a measure protracted by a sand-bar which ran out from it, lay the Chinese fleet of about fifteen war-junks, moored in a good position in shallow water, so as to prevent the near approach of our ships. Directions had been given to Captain Herbert, of the Calliope, to make arrangements for the attack of these war-junks, as soon as the defences on Chuenpee should have fallen. The moment, therefore, that it was perceived on board the Nemesis, as she ran up towards the lower battery, and poured in her grape and canister, that the upper fort had fallen, and that the lower one could not longer hold out, she hastened, without a moment's delay, to the attack of the enemy's squadron. Full steam was set on, without waiting to see what other measures might be taken elsewhere to effect the object.

In her anxiety to secure the post of honour, the Nemesis rounded the point of Chuenpee a little too close, and struck rather heavily upon a rocky reef running out some distance from it, but upon which it was thought that there was still water enough to enable her to float safely. She did indeed pass over it, but not without striking; but her iron frame did not *hang* upon it as a wooden one would probably have done, and she proceeded, without even stopping her engines. That the force of the blow however was considerable, and would probably have seriously damaged a wooden vessel, is shown by the fact of her having the outer paddle-ring of one of the wheels broken, together with two of

the long arms attached to it. It is evident that a blow which would cause such injury to *iron* would have done much more serious damage to wood.

About this time, Captain Belcher, of the Sulphur, joined her, with two of his ship's boats, anxious to partake of the honour of the affair. A few of the Sulphur's seamen also came on board. As she pushed along, she was also reinforced by Lieutenant Kellett, of the Starling, who brought his gig, or whale-boat, and subsequently did good service, by occasionally pointing the foremost gun of the Nemesis, at his own request, with great precision.

As they approached the position in which the Chinese junks were drawn up, it was easily perceived that it had been well chosen, with scarcely more than five feet water round the vessels, and that, in fact, they could not be attacked in front, except by boats. However, the Nemesis, having the great advantage of drawing less than six feet water, was able to approach near enough to bring her two 32-pounder pivot-guns to bear within good range. Just at this moment also a large boat, or pinnace, of the Larne, was observed, making its way round the outside of the little island, with a view to cut off the junks in the rear.

The boldness of this manœuvre, under the command of Lieutenant Harrison, was much admired; and, indeed, the dashing way in which many similar attacks were made on other occasions during the war took the Chinese by surprise, and struck them with a wholesome terror, even before they came to close quarters.

One of the most formidable engines of destruction

which any vessel, particularly a steamer, can make use of is the congreve rocket, a most terrible weapon when judiciously applied, especially where there are combustible materials to act upon. The very first rocket fired from the Nemesis was seen to enter the large junk against which it was directed, near that of the admiral, and almost the instant afterwards it blew up with a terrific explosion, launching into eternity every soul on board, and pouring forth its blaze like the mighty rush of fire from a volcano. The instantaneous destruction of the huge body seemed appalling to both sides engaged. The smoke, and flame, and thunder of the explosion, with the broken fragments falling round, and even portions of dissevered bodies scattering as they fell, were enough to strike with awe, if not with fear, the stoutest heart that looked upon it.

It is related that, at the battle of the Nile, when the French Admiral's ship, L'Orient, blew up, both of the fiercely-fighting foes paused in horror at the dreadful catastrophe, and neither side renewed the fight for at least ten minutes afterwards. So here, also, although the explosion was far less violent, and the contending parties comparatively trifling in number, and far less excited by the contest, there was a momentary pause; the very suddenness of the catastrophe added something to the awe and rejoicing, combined, which it excited. The rocket had penetrated into the magazine of the junk, or had ignited some of the loose powder too often scattered carelessly about the decks by the Chinese gunners. They naturally felt that the same fate might readily befall any of the other junks; and, after some

discharges of round shot had been thrown into the nearest junks (four of them were afterwards found lodged in the admiral's junk), their crews were observed endeavouring to escape on shore, some upon the little island, and others upon Chuenpee; while, at the same time, the junks were all cut away by those remaining on board, in order that they might drift on shore, and enable the rest to escape.

The Chinese hauled down their colours on board their junks at about half-past eleven, but continued firing afterwards. At about twelve o'clock, the boats of the Nemesis, in company with the others which were present, put off to board the junks. Only two of the smaller ones succeeded in getting away up a small branch of the river, while two more escaped, for the moment, up another principal branch to a large town, but were subsequently captured.

Some of the junks drifted on shore; and, as there could be no utility in saving them, they were all successively set on fire, by order of Captain Belcher, and ultimately blew up. In some of the junks which were not yet quite abandoned by their crews, the poor Chinamen, as the English sailors boarded them on one side, rushed wildly over on the opposite one, or let themselves down by the stern-chains, clinging to the ship's rudder. Others, as the fire gained upon their junk, retreated before it, and continued hanging to the yet untouched portions of it, until the flames advancing upon them rapidly, they were obliged to throw water over *their own bodies*, to enable them to bear the intense heat, still desperately clinging to their fate, more from

fear of ill-treatment, if they should be taken prisoners, than from any rational hope of being saved. In many instances, they *would not* be saved; in others they *could not*, and were destroyed as their junk blew up. In fact, they all appeared completely panic-struck; to which the sudden explosion of the first junk by the rocket contributed not a little.

On the following day, the principal part of the guns were recovered, altogether upwards of eighty in number, of which eight or ten were handsome brass Portuguese guns 6, 9, and 12-pounders. One of these was, a few days afterwards, presented to Captain Hall by the officers and crew of the ship under his command, together with a letter signed by them all, in which he was requested to accept it from them, as "a mark of their remembrance of the coolness and judgment which he had shown throughout that day." It would be needless to say that their coolness and gallantry were also well remembered by their commander himself.

Altogether, eleven junks were destroyed on the spot. Scarcely had this duty been completed by the different boats engaged, when the Nemesis hastened on up the river, and, at the distance of about three miles, came upon a large town, where she found two war-junks moored close to the shore, but abandoned by their crews. The consternation of the people was extreme; they were seen running away from the town in all directions; the surrounding hills were crowded with the anxious and astonished gazers, wondering what was going to happen next; never, of course, having either seen or heard of a "devil ship" before, and well know-

ing that her visit could only be a hostile one. It was enough that they had already heard of the total destruction of their fleet at the river's mouth. The place was not at all fortified, not a shot being fired on either side.

The tide was now beginning to fall, and, as the water was not deep, and the bar would soon become impassable, and the day was already far advanced, it was thought better to return, without exploring the river higher up. Accordingly, taking in tow the two junks, the Nemesis again descended the river; but one of the junks getting aground on the bar, at the entrance, was obliged to be left behind, while the other was taken safely down, and soon after five p. m. the Nemesis joined the squadron off Chuenpee, and received the thanks of the commodore for the services she had rendered during the day. She had received no important damage, the paddle-box only having been injured by a well-directed shot from one of the junks.

The burning of the junks was a service by no means unattended with danger to those employed in it; for, the guns on board, many of them being still loaded, went off as soon as the fire reached them, threatening to do serious damage to the Nemesis as she passed near.

It must have been a fine sight for the troops who were in possession of Chuenpee, to witness from the top of the hill the encounter with, and total destruction of, this fleet; the numerous burning masses, and the loud explosions as they blew up; with the boats pulling about among them, lighted by the glare of the fires: all this, added to the excitement which always attends the being a looker-on while others are actors in deeds

of danger, must have formed a most animating spectacle. The scenery about Anson's Bay is moreover bold and picturesque, and the limited space in which the affair took place must have added something to the interest it awakened. For several days after the event fragments of the broken wrecks were seen strewed along the beach, and it was some time before even the industrious and economical Chinese could muster resolution to pick them up.

To the Chinese this had been in all respects a most disastrous day. Their stone walls and their wooden walls had been alike destroyed. And, although they might before have dreaded us by sea, they had never until now had an opportunity of testing the power of Europeans on land. The soil of their forefathers had now been defiled by the hostile tread of what they were pleased to call the "red barbarians;" their defences were destroyed, their troops dispersed, and the spell of their unapproachable seclusion broken. All the "special favours" and "compassionate forbearance" which the tender-hearted benevolence of the great emperor had hitherto conferred upon the "barbarian" in *words* were now thrown back upon him in cannon-balls, and the proud victor's conscious power now stood front to front with the still prouder emperor's unconscious weakness.

On this day, the 7th January, 1841, the native Indian troops and the Royal Marines constituted considerably more than two-thirds of the whole force employed on shore.

The loss of many hundred killed and wounded on the

Chinese side, with something less than forty wounded and none killed on our side, shows rather that the Chinese were deficient in proper weapons to match their foes, than wanting in personal bravery to meet them in the fight. And, as they were not yet acquainted with the European mode of sparing an unresisting enemy, they suffered great loss from unsupported and useless resistance, when timely submission would have saved many lives. They exasperated our troops without a chance of benefitting themselves.

The Chinese admiral, the fine old Kwan, lost the red ball or button of his cap, the emblem of his rank, during the encounter with the junks. It was reported that he wished to meet his death at the hands of his foe, and was with some difficulty borne off by his attendants; but this fate was reserved for him on a future occasion, and he showed himself a chivalrous and brave man. The loss of his ball or button, which has certain marks upon it which probably indicate that it is conferred by imperial favour as an emblem of rank, seemed naturally to occasion him the greatest possible anxiety and trouble. He, in fact, made application for it to be returned to him, if it chanced to have been found; and it is gratifying to know that, through the intervention of Captain Elliot, her Majesty's plenipotentiary, it was recovered and generously restored to him.

The total number of guns taken or rendered unserviceable during the operations of this day, ashore and afloat, amounted to one hundred and seventy-three pieces, including eighty-two in the junks, of which a few were brass, but mostly of small calibre.

As mention has now particularly been made of junks, as a name for Chinese vessels, we may take this opportunity, while the Nemesis is quietly at anchor with the ships under Captain Herbert for the night, to say a few words upon these curious vessels.

The junks with which the Nemesis was engaged in Anson's Bay were provided with quite a new sort of boarding-nettings, if they can be so called. Probably old Admiral Kwan, whose reputation as a seaman was not very great, had heard that English ships of war were sometimes provided with nets when going into action; and, therefore, without knowing very well what might be the purpose of them, he determined to have them likewise. But, alas! he made a sad mistake concerning the object for which they were intended. He very naturally thought, that, in the position which he had taken up in shallow water, only the boats of the squadron could come close to him, and he hit upon the bright notion of trying to *catch them* with his nets, just as a poacher catches his sleeping game by throwing a net over them. A number of strong fishing-nets were fastened all round the sides of the junks, not extended so as to impede any one trying to get on board, but triced up outside over each of the guns, in such a way, that, when our boats should come alongside, the nets were to be thrown over them, men and all; and thus our jolly tars, of course, as he imagined, struck powerless with fear, were to be caught like hares in their form, and handed over with great facility to the tender mercies of the emperor.

Certainly this scheme had the merit of novelty and

ingenuity, but, unfortunately for Kwan, men were not hares or rabbits. No sooner did the guns of the Nemesis open fire, than the nets were all forgotten in their fear of the shot and the rockets; and, long before the boats could get alongside, the defenders and men-catchers were glad to be off, to avoid being themselves caught.

All Chinese vessels of whatever description, except their smaller boats of various kinds, with or without sails (of the latter there are very few), are called by Europeans junks. They vary in size, the largest of them sometimes measuring as much as eight hundred tons. A more unwieldy-looking machine, or one less calculated for efficient service at sea, than the old-fashioned junks, can scarcely be conceived. Although, since the commencement of the war, they have gradually improved them very much in the fashion of the hull, and have taken the grand step of beginning a change of some sort or other, still the masts and sails, and all that appertains to the rigging of a vessel, are very little different from what they have hitherto been.

It should be noticed, that the boats and smaller rigged vessels of the Chinese are generally very much superior to their large junks in form and convenience of arrangement, and often sail very well. The family to whom the boat belongs lives entirely on board, and, for the combined purposes for which their boats are generally used, perhaps no arrangement could be better adapted for making the most of a limited space; and they are, moreover, kept remarkably clean.

The war-junks are of different sizes, and have guns

varying in number from four to fourteen, and even more, mounted upon them, of various calibre, some of foreign make, but principally Chinese. The smaller junks are also adapted for oars or sweeps, of which they sometimes can work as many as twenty on either side. The crew are further provided with a great number of spears, swords, matchlocks, and frequently large jingals, not unlike our duck-guns, fitted with a rest upon the bulwarks of the vessel, so as to give the power of taking a steady aim. There are generally a large number of round shields on board, made in a saucer-like fashion, and about two and a half to three feet in diameter. They are composed of ratans, or canes, strongly twisted or woven in together, and are so elastic, that it would be very difficult to cut through them with a sword; and even a musket-ball fired from a long distance, and hitting them at all in a slanting direction, would be turned off. They are usually hung all round the bulwarks, resting upon the top and outside of them, giving a very striking appearance.

A large junk puts put one very much in mind of one of the old Roman galleys, only less efficiently constructed for venturing away from land, and not unfrequently gaudily ornamented with green and yellow colours. Several improvements have been adopted by the Chinese since the commencement of the war. They had constructed a number of gun-boats for the defence of the river higher up, upon Europeon models; and, towards the close of the war, they built one or two large junks, which they called frigates, with great improvements in shape and general arrangement, and regular port-holes

for the guns on the deck below, and with heavy guns too mounted in them. One of these we saw near the Bogue, after the peace, mounting thirty-six guns, all of foreign manufacture, many of them 9 and 12-pounder iron guns, made by Fawcett, of Liverpool, and purchased either at Macao or at Singapore. The junk was very clean, and in good order, painted green, and coppered; and, with the exception of the masts and sails, which were in the old style, she looked very well. This vessel was said to have been constructed by order of Tinqua, one of the Hong merchants, who has distinguished himself by his zeal in defence of his country; and it was by him presented to the emperor, together with a European barque, and a brig, rather the worse for wear in the merchant service, which he purchased at considerable cost. These are still to be seen in the river of Canton, manned by Chinamen, but, as might be expected, not in good order as regards the rigging and sails, and not very well adapted for a cruise at sea.

Another large vessel, which they purchased in the early part of the war, called the Cambridge, as will be presently seen, was destroyed in the river, in an engagement with our vessels, in which the Nemesis bore a conspicuous part.

But the most remarkable improvement of all, and which shewed the rapid stride towards a great change which they were daily making, as well as the ingenuity of the Chinese character, was the construction of several large *wheeled* vessels, which were afterwards brought forward against us with great confidence, at the engagement at Woosung, the last naval affair of the war, and were each

commanded by a mandarin of rank, shewing the importance they attached to their new vessels. This too was so far north as the Yangtze Keang, where we had never traded with them; so that the idea must have been suggested to them by the reports they received concerning the wonderful power of our steamers or wheeled vessels.

To anticipate a little, it may here be mentioned, that the vessels had wooden wheels, very like an undershot mill-wheel, which were moved by machinery inside the vessel, worked by a sort of capstan by manual labour, the crew walking it round and round, just like walking up an anchor on board a man-of-war; the horizontal revolution was turned into the upright one by strong wooden *cog-wheels*, upon regular mechanical principles.

When once the spirit of change and improvement has taken hold of the Chinese, it is impossible to say where it will stop among so ingenious and indefatigable a people. Even the emperor himself has ordered still greater changes to be made since the peace, and has directed that "the best materials for building ships shall be procured from all parts of the world; and that, as only ships built on European principles can contend with European ships, they must gradually learn to adopt European models themselves. But, as this can only be effected by time, and the ships are required now to suppress the pirates which infest his coast, they are at once to purchase foreign ships, and learn to exercise their crews."

Who could so soon have expected such an order from a great despotic monarch, who has hitherto professed to be guided only by the light of his ancestors,

and the wisdom of the ancients; and whose whole people have eschewed all change in the prescribed inviolable tyranny of usage, as if it were the introduction of a dreaded pestilence into the "flowery land!"

To return from this short digression, we may now ask what sort of a report was made by Admiral Kwan to his mighty master, upon the subject of these first actions below the Bogue—the first great collision between the power and science of the west, and the self-confidence of the remote east. Keshen, clear-sighted as he certainly was, could not fail to perceive the many troubles and humiliations to which his country must become subjected if hostilities were pushed to extremes. He was fully alive to the serious defeat he had sustained, yet dreaded to break the truth too suddenly to his haughty master; wise, therefore, in his generation, he declared that there had been a "drawn battle." He informed his master that the contest had been maintained from eight a. m. until two p. m., and that "then, *the tide ebbing*," (the tide of fortune he might have said!) "the foreign vessels ceased firing, and anchored in the middle of the stream, *each side maintaining its ground*."

At that time, as has been seen, not only were the Chinese forts long in our possession, but their fleet was destroyed, and their commander-in-chief in full flight. He alluded to the "presumptuous, overbearing, and unruly violence of these foreigners," and then detailed the measures he had adopted for reinforcing the positions, and apologised for the absence of more detailed information, upon the ground of his anxiety to communicate the earliest possible intelligence, to which he "sub-

missively implored the sacred glance of his august sovereign."

The emperor, or rather his ministers, were not so easily to be duped. Keshen was at once declared to be "incompetent;" and it was ordered that his conduct "should be subjected to the severest consideration;" while poor old Kwan was accused of being "at all times devoid of talent to direct, and, on the approach of a crisis, to be alarmed, perturbed, and without resources."

From the earliest times to the most modern, success has been vulgarly considered in all countries to be the grand criterion of merit; and the "Felix" of the ancients, the successful, the favoured of the gods, stands nearly as paramount in the estimation of the world now as it did even in days of old. Kwan was accordingly at once deprived of his rank and insignia of office, but was ordered henceforth to labour to attain merit, bearing his punishment in the mean time. And, indeed, when so much parade had been made by the local authorities, of what they had done and what they intended to do, it was not unnatural that the emperor should visit them with punishment in precise proportion to their failure.

Various plans were suggested for future proceedings against the English; it was admitted that the junks could not cope with our ships on the open sea, and it was therefore recommended "that our vessels should be *enticed* into the inner waters, and that there should be employed expert divers to go down at night, and bore holes in their bottoms," while other parties were to come "stealthily upon them at night and board them unawares, and massacre the whole of their crews."

Above all, a grand preparation of fire-ships was to be made, filled with various combustibles, which, with a favourable wind, were to be let loose upon them, and, in the confusion resulting from this attack, their war-vessels were to follow and complete what the fire-vessels had commenced. Great rewards were again offered for the taking or destruction of any of our ships, and 50,000 dollars was to be the recompense for a line-of-battle ship.

As a last and truly Chinese suggestion, it was recommended to the emperor by some officious great man, that as soon as the English should really "repent of their sins, and become sincerely submissive, the Portuguese of Macao should become *security* for their good behaviour in future!"

We must now return to the current of events, which took place immediately after the capture of Chuenpee. The evening after the engagement was spent in making preparations on both sides for renewing the contest on the morrow. Every one on board our ships was excited with the occurrences of the day, and anxiously longing for the dawn of morning, when the thunder of our artillery should make even the walls of Anunghoy and the famed Bogue forts tremble and fall. At length the sun rose bright and full of promise on the morning of the 8th. The boats of H.M.S. Sulphur were sent out to take soundings higher up towards the Bogue. The Nemesis was first under weigh, and was directed to proceed at once up to Anunghoy, with a couple of rocket-boats.

The morning was calm: the line-of-battle ships were slowly moving up to the positions assigned to them in

front of the principal forts; already had the Nemesis taken up a position within capital range of the southern battery of Anunghoy, in such a manner that only three or four guns could be brought to bear on her from it; already had she thrown in several shells and shot—when the signal for her recal was observed flying most provokingly from the mast-head of the Wellesley, and being enforced by more than one signal gun, the firing ceased. Just as the exciting moment had arrived, and every man was calculating in his own mind how soon the forts would be reduced, the stillness, not of breathless anxiety, but of bitter disappointment, prevailed in every man's bosom.

It soon appeared that old Admiral Kwan preferred to try his skill in cunning and diplomacy rather than in war, and had sent off a small boat to the flagship, under a flag of truce, with a note addressed to the plenipotentiary. The well-known fact has excited some amusement, and not a little chagrin, that a little boat, with an old woman and a man in it, was sent off to bear proposals for the cessation of hostilities at the very moment of their commencement. Some say that a Chinese prisoner, whom we had sent back to Anunghoy the day before, was in the boat, and the bearer of the letter. However that may be, certain it is, that this humble paper, sent in this extraordinary way, was received, and became the groundwork of an armistice, which was concluded in the course of the day. Soon after four o'clock in the afternoon, the Nemesis was sent to convey Lieutenant Maitland of the Wellesley to Anunghoy, as bearer of a chop or official document, relating to the

truce, and to a projected treaty of peace, the precise terms of which did not transpire.

Many animadversions were made upon this proceeding. But, in point of fact, nothing was known of the orders of Captain Elliot, which were generally supposed to have been more of a negative than of a positive kind, leaving him to act principally according to his own discretion. It could not be said that war had been actually declared against China, although the blockade of the river of Canton, the order in council for the detention and even confiscation of the Chinese junks, and the occupation of Chusan, were, to all intents and purposes, equivalent to a declaration of war, both in word and deed; while the proceedings of the Chinese, throughout the operations, clearly showed that they understood and felt it as such. The Chinese themselves would be the last to complain of the want of a formal declaration of war.

Captain Elliot was placed in very peculiar circumstances. He was desirous to avoid open rupture with the Chinese, if possible, and to use his best tact and judgment in negociation, which would, of course, be of little avail unless backed by a strong force, ready to support his claims, and therefore necessarily assuming a threatening attitude. Above all, the value of the revenue to be derived from *tea* was so great, and its importance as an article of consumption so much thought of, that Elliot believed himself to be best serving his country when he best followed out, according to his judgment, these two principal objects. That Captain Elliot may have been influenced by occasional errors of

judgment, is far from improbable; but that he was wanting in natural talent or principle, or a wish to serve faithfully his queen, his government, and his country, his most unscrupulous detractors have scarcely ventured to maintain. It is fortunate, at all events, that it can still be said that measures of uncompromising hostility were not urged, until every other method of persuasion, and every less powerful, however ingenious, argument had been tried and found wanting.

Negociations continued at the Bogue; but the Chinese, in spite of the truce, were observed to be increasing their defences, and notice was accordingly given to them to desist. The communications were frequent; and, on the 17th, just a week after the commencement of the truce, Captain Elliot went down in the Nemesis to Macao. There seemed, however, to prevail an impression, that the affair was so far from being settled, that another collision could scarcely be avoided, and therefore no measure of precaution was omitted on our side.

Several days were spent by Captain Elliot in Macao, during which her Britannic Majesty's subjects were given to understand that negociations on a "satisfactory" basis had been resumed with the Imperial Commissioner Keshen. In the mean time, the fleet had retired to Chuenpee, where the British flag still waved in triumph; and on the 20th, the Nemesis proceeded to join the force off that anchorage.

On that day, a circular was issued by Captain Elliot, dated at Macao, announcing that *preliminary* arrange-

ments had been concluded, but reserving the details for future negociation. Hong Kong was to be ceded to us; an indemnity of six million dollars were to be paid by the Chinese in six equal annual instalments, one million being paid down at once, and the last in 1846; direct official intercourse was to be maintained upon terms of perfect equality, and trade was to be resumed within the port of Canton, within ten days. But it would also appear that an intimation had been made of an intention to remove the greater portion of the trade to Hong Kong, for it was provided that it should only continue "to be carried on at Whampoa until further arrangements were practicable at the new settlement."

Nothing could at first sight appear more satisfactory than this arrangement; but, as will presently be seen, it gave ample time to the Chinese to make further preparations for defence, and abundant loopholes for the exercise of their crafty ingenuity. At the same time, Captain Elliot urged upon the consideration of his countrymen "the necessity of adopting a conciliatory treatment towards the people, and a becoming deference for the country upon the threshold of which we were about to be established."

Nothing further need here be said upon this subject, except that on the following day, the 21st January, the Nemesis was sent to convey two mandarins to Chuenpee, who were to receive back the forts from Captain Scott, of the Samarang, who had been appointed pro tempore governor of this fortress. The British colours were

hauled down, and the Chinese dragon was hoisted in their place, under a salute from the flag-ship; it was very evident that no salute had ever sounded so welcome to Chinese ears before. As soon as a few guns could be got ready for the purpose, the salute was returned by the Chinese.

We had certainly shown rather a chivalrous leniency to their government, in thus so suddenly restoring to them one of their principal strongholds. Their delight at the occurrence may readily be imagined, for their colours were at the same time again hoisted upon Anunghoy, where they had been temporarily lowered; and thus the British flag ceased once more to wave upon the territory of the Celestial Empire. At the same time, orders had been hastily sent up for the immediate evacuation of Chusan, whence our troops were to be brought down to Hong Kong, together with the ships of war, as quickly as possible.

Every thing looked extremely peaceable upon paper, and the Chinese contrived to create a temporary belief in the sincerity of their intentions.[1]

It will be remembered that Sir Gordon Bremer had not yet been named Joint Plenipotentiary, which did not take place until after his return from Calcutta in

[1] DETAIL OF H. B. M.'s MILITARY AT CHUSAN, ON 1st JANUARY, 1841.

	rank and file.
18th Regiment, Royal Irish, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams,	487
26th Regiment, Cameronians, Lieutenant-Colonel James,	291
49th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Bartley	326
Bengal Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd	402
Madras Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, C.B.	185
Madras Sappers and Miners, Captain Cotton	227

The Queen steamer, in the month of June following. He had proceeded to India in that vessel, at the end of March, after the arrival of Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, probably in order to confer in person with the governor-general.

Thus ended what may be called the second act, (the first having been the taking of Chusan, and the expedition to the Peiho) of the great drama of the Chinese war. In his report to the emperor, respecting these several occurrences, Keshen declared that "he had only made conditional concessions to the English; *merely* promising that he would earnestly implore the emperor's favour in their behalf." He afterwards added that "the English had evidently shown a much more compliant disposition than heretofore, by having restored the forts, and also the salt-junks which they had taken, and also in causing their forces to withdraw from Chusan." This would naturally create in the emperor's mind an impression, that the English would without much difficulty be reduced to submission. At the same time, Keshen declared that he "trembled from hand to foot, and that his heart was rent with pain and anxiety, when he thought of the perverse *craftiness* of these unruly foreigners." The commissioner by these means weakened his own case, for he almost made it appear that the English were most disposed to yield, at the moment when he was himself asking "favours" for them, but that they had got the better of him by their ingenuity.

Immediately after the restoration of the forts on the 21st to the Chinese, the Commodore went down to

Macao in the Nemesis, leaving the Wellesley in the Lintao passage, the main body of the fleet having proceeded to Hong Kong. It was feared, however, that things could not long remain in statu quo; there were several passings to and fro between Macao and the fleet; and on the 26th, Captain Elliot himself left Macao in the Nemesis, and went up the Canton river to hold a conference, which it had been arranged should take place with Keshen in person, in order to settle those points which, it has been stated, were reserved for future consideration.

CHAPTER XV.

Conference between Keshen and Captain Elliot at the second bar — Keshen sensible of his own weakness — But driven to extremities by orders from Pekin — Preparations for the conference — Nemesis the first steamer which ever passed the Bogue — Arrival of a French Corvette — Salute from the Bogue forts — Tiger Island — Aspect of the Canton river—Pagodas—Arrival at place of conference—Guard of marines—Hong merchants arrive, but not admitted to an audience — Captain Elliot and suite received by Keshen — Entertainment — Keshen inspects the marines — Private conference between the high functionaries—Nothing definitely settled—Captain Elliot dines with the Prefect of Canton—Keshen does not return his visit in person —Nemesis returns to Hong Kong—Keshen's report to the emperor of this meeting—Is superseded—Appointment of three commissioners in his place—Suspicious circumstances—Elliot demands explanation—Proceeds to the Bogue in the Nemesis — Second interview with Keshen — Curious facts — Delay of ten days agreed to — Remarks thereon—Force unwillingly resorted to—Preparations for defence still continue at the Bogue—Suspicions of Captain Elliot and Sir G. Bremer—Nemesis sent to the Bogue with the treaty—Waits four days without any answer—Reconnoissance by Captain Hall—Discovery that Chuenpee was an island — Also Tycocktow — Boat fired at from Wantung—Nemesis returns to Macao without the treaty—Sir G. Bremer orders our forces to move up to the Bogue—Intercepted despatches from Keshen to Admiral Kwan.

The famous conference which took place between Keshen and Captain Elliot, some miles above the Bogue, close to a pagoda on the banks of the river, at what is called its Second Bar, has attracted very great and deserved attention. Although its results were, in a poli-

tical point of view, really of little moment, there is reason to think that Keshen, as well as Elliot, was anxious to adjust the pending difficulties without further resort to arms. The advantage, however, which delay of any kind would afford to Keshen, and the ultimate interruption of the negociations, followed, as it was, immediately by the capture of the Bogue forts, have led many to conclude that Keshen had all along no other object than that of putting us off our guard, in order that he might complete his still imperfect arrangements for defence, and then throw down the gauntlet to us in defiance.

This view of the matter appears to have been a good deal exaggerated; and we shall perceive, as we follow this narrative, that Keshen was thoroughly sensible of his own weakness, and really did desire to avert the storm, but was fairly driven into extreme measures, and the suspension of all amicable intercourse, by positive orders from Pekin. Indeed, he was afterwards accused of treason, bribery, and incapacity, because he even condescended to confer at all with Captain Elliot, instead of advancing boldly upon him, and driving him and all his troops and ships away from the coast. Keshen saw the imbecility of such conduct, and although he knew the hopelessness of an attempt to defend the river, he had no other alternative but to obey; he had already been deprived of some of his decorations for having listened to terms at Chuenpee, and his only hope of saving himself from ignominy, and even death itself, was by striving hard to exhibit greater zeal in the defence of the Bogue, which, nevertheless, he scarcely hoped to be able to maintain.

Let us now, however, accompany the Nemesis up the river, in order to see what sort of an affair the grand conference at the Second Bar really was, and how the interview between the Plenipotentiary of England and the High Commissioner of China actually came off. It was naturally expected that it would be an affair of great ceremony, and as it was the first time that any intercourse had been permitted upon terms of perfect equality with any of the high Canton authorities, and as it was to happen in accordance with the stipulations of the new treaty, it excited great interest, and kept the curiosity of every one alive.

Adequate preparations were made on both sides, becoming the high rank of the respective parties, and doubtless each of them was calculating the most likely mode of making a good impression upon the other. One hundred marines, picked men from the Wellesley, Druid, and Calliope, were embarked on board the Madagascar steamer, to be carried up as a guard of honour for Captain Elliot, at the meeting; they were commanded by Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Ellis, C.B., having with him Lieutenants Stransham and Maxwell. The excellent bands of the Wellesley and Calliope were also in attendance, and it was expected that the Chinese would be astonished and properly "impressed" by the appearance and manœuvres of the men, while they would be gratified and put into a good humour, by the enlivening tones of the music.

On the 26th of January the Nemesis started from Macao, with Captain Elliot and several officers on board, and proceeded directly up to the Bogue. As she passed

Chuenpee, she communicated with the Calliope, which was at anchor there, under Captain Herbert, a salute of seventeen guns being fired for the plenipotentiary, and was subsequently joined by the Madagascar, which was to accompany her up to the place of meeting. Captain Herbert, the Honourable Captain Dundas, and Captain Maitland, attended the Plenipotentiary. And now, for the first time, two steamers were to enter the true Canton river, and as the Nemesis was the leading vessel through the Bogue, she had consequently the honour of being the first steam-vessel, whether of wood or iron, which ever navigated the "inner waters" of the Celestial Empire.

It was just at this time that the French corvette, Danaide, arrived in the China waters, having been sent out purposely to watch our movements in that quarter. This, indeed, could have been her only object, for, as regards protection of trade, the French have never had any trade with China worthy of the name, nor indeed had the French flag floated over the walls of the foreign factories at Canton for many years, until after the accession of Louis Phillippe to the throne. Since that time it has always been exhibited rather in hope of the future than for the protection of present interests, for, except the French consul and his attendants, there has been, until recently, scarcely a French ship in China.

As the declaration of blockade was still in force against the port of Canton, the Danaide was not permitted to proceed higher up than Chuenpee, but her commander, Captain Rosamel, was politely permitted by Captain Elliot to accompany him on board the Nemesis, that he might be a witness of the coming interview;

an act of courtesy which was handsomely acknowledged.

As the two steamers passed through the Bogue, each with a flag of truce at the fore, they were saluted with three guns (the greatest number ever given in China), by the forts on both sides. The Chinese also manned the works, and hoisted numerous gay silken flags; and the effect of their curious costumes, and the general appearance of the forts of Anunghoy and Wantung, when their battlements were crowded with the eager spectators, were very imposing. Certainly, the passage of two steamers between them, the first they had ever seen, must have been an exciting novelty. The bold, rocky steeps behind the batteries of Anunghoy, frowning, as it were, and really commanding the batteries below, grinning defiance with their whitened battlements; and the opposite island of Wantung, with its numerous works; the more distant shore of the mainland on the other side, and the remarkable Tiger Island a-head; all these formed a very interesting and remarkable spectacle.

Nevertheless, although the Bogue is naturally a strong position, and sufficiently formidable in its appearance, it could not be compared in this respect with the European Dardanelles, however it may have been called the Dardanelles of China.

Just at the foot of Tiger Island, about two miles above the Bogue, could be distinguished a long stone battery, which, on a nearer approach, appeared deserving of closer inspection, although, from its position, it was not likely to be of much use for the defence of the river. The Nemesis, accordingly, little fearing shallow

water at any time, ran up towards it, and came so close to the battlements as to touch them with her yards; in which position, had her intentions been hostile, it was very evident that she could batter the walls with her guns with perfect impunity, for the guns of the fort could not be depressed sufficiently to point at her hull in that position.

This manœuvre thoroughly confounded the Chinese, who looked on in evident wonder. And they so far profited by the hint afterwards, that they abandoned the fort altogether, as useless and untenable, and carried away the guns, to add to the strength of the Bogue forts lower down.

Beyond the Bogue and Tiger Island the river begins to expand again, and for some miles presents to view a flat, rich, alluvial country, in which are an immense number of canals and water-courses, serving to irrigate the paddy or rice fields, and to afford innumerable lines of internal communication, which in that country mostly take the place of roads and bridges.

In no part of China are there found within the same distance so many large pagodas or religious monuments as upon the banks of this fine river. This is not the place to describe them minutely, or to discuss their purpose. They are found in most of the large towns, and sometimes on the banks of rivers, and form a part of the religious buildings of the Budhist superstition, and together with it, seem to have been originally introduced from the west. The shape of them is familiar to most readers. The finest and most celebrated one of the kind is the famous Porcelain Tower of Nankin;

which is in reality a pagoda, larger and more ornamented than the rest, and distinguished by being principally constructed of Porcelain brick glazed, and of various shades of colour. These towers, or pagodas, are of great use in the navigation of the Canton river, as, from their height, they are conspicuous objects at a distance, and are generally placed in advantageous positions.

It was precisely at the pagoda at the Second Bar, as it is called, that the conference was now to be held; and there, at about six o'clock in the evening, the Nemesis and Madagascar came to anchor. A couple of mandarins, or officers of inferior grade, (for let it not be supposed that a mandarin is necessarily a great man) came on board, deputed by Keshen, to welcome the arrival of the plenipo. They were afterwards landed in the ship's boat, which, in the darkness of the evening, and from want of acquaintance with the river, got ashore in returning, and with some difficulty reached the vessel in the middle of the night.

A list of the names and rank of those officers who were to be present at the interview on the following morning was sent in to Keshen, in English and Chinese, so that he might be quite prepared, when each gentleman should be presented to him by Captain Elliot, to receive him courteously.

Early in the morning, the guard of marines were landed, together with the bands of the Wellesley and Calliope. A finer body of men is rarely seen. Soon after nine o'clock, the whole of the officers were ready to go on shore, which was accomplished partly in the boats of the two steamers, partly in very clean and convenient

Chinese boats provided by Keshen. They had to pull some little distance up one of the numerous creeks which open into all the Chinese rivers, and the scene as they approached was very novel and interesting. On either side were several very gaudily ornamented boats belonging to Keshen, very similar to the boats of the Hong merchants at Canton, who had also arrived under the guidance of old Howqua. They could scarcely hope to enjoy the honour of a place at the conference, and were, therefore, probably ordered by Keshen to attend upon him. They were not admitted even into the same tents with Captain Elliot and his suite.

The Hong merchants' boats are both large and convenient, somewhat resembling a small room or van, placed upon a very sharp-pointed but broad boat, as they are only used for pulling about the smooth waters of the river. Nothing can be better adapted for comfort, affording shelter both from the sun and rain, with plenty of room for at least half-a-dozen people to sit down and converse. The outside of these boats is showily painted, and commonly decorated with handsome woodwork. The inside is generally elegantly fitted up. They are usually pulled by four men forward, who use a short broad-bladed oar or paddle, with great dexterity and effect; and they are also assisted as well as steered by a large heavy scull-oar behind.

The landing-place at the Second Bar pagoda presented certainly a lively scene. The guard of marines drawn up on either side highly astonished the Chinese, but the people were kept from pressing too close by a long line of railing put up for the occasion. The road

from the immediate landing-place to the grand tent was spread over with various coloured cotton coverings, and decorated with branches of trees.

At nine, a.m., Captain Elliot, accompanied by Captain Herbert and the Honourable Captain Dundas, landed, and went up in state, preceded by the bands, to the principal tent, which was very like a large long booth, ornamented inside with yellow hangings, in token of its belonging to the representative of the emperor. At the further extremity of it was another tent or apartment, reserved more especially for Keshen's private use, and into this only Captain Elliot and one or two officers in personal attendance on him were admitted.

The whole party were presented to Keshen in the outer tent, including Captain Rosamel of the Danaide; the list sent in the previous evening being referred to, as each gentleman of the party made his bow to the Imperial Commissioner.

The first private audience in the inner tent between Captain Elliot and Keshen was merely one of ceremony, and lasted only a few minutes; the medium of communication being through Mr. Morrison, the talented interpreter, and the gifted son of the late Dr. Morrison, so celebrated as a Chinese scholar and philologist.

After the first introduction was over, it was announced that a grand *déjeûner à la fourchette* was prepared in the outer tent, for the whole of the party, upwards of twenty in number. Interminable was the succession of dishes of the rarest and most expensive kind, according to the best Chinese principles of gastronomy. The luxury of the shark's-fin and the bird's-

nest soups was here tasted for the first time, and, without going deeply into the mysteries of the Chinese "cuisine," it will be sufficient to say that a Chinese feast is a very sumptuous and tedious, but, withal, not unpalatable affair. It necessarily occupied considerable time, and it was not until two o'clock that those officers not in personal attendance upon Captain Elliot were able to return on board the steamers.

In the interim, Keshen could not resist the wish to gratify his curiosity concerning our fine-looking fellows, the marines, and three of the tallest and finest men were selected for his personal examination. He did not conceal his surprise, and even requested that they might be made to go through some of their evolutions. Keshen also examined their arms and accoutrements minutely, for every thing was, of course, perfectly new to him.

He had himself a small body-guard of Chinese soldiers, tolerably well-dressed, but otherwise of poor appearance, compared with our own picked men, and they seemed quite at a loss to comprehend the purpose of the movements they witnessed.

There were a good many small tents pitched round about the principal reception-tent, and, as each of these was ornamented with a gay flag and other decorations, the *coup d'œil* of the whole scene was sufficiently imposing.

Keshen's manner throughout is described as having been particularly kind, gentlemanlike, and perfectly dignified. He might, indeed, be called a courtier-like gentleman in any country.

What may have passed between Keshen and Captain Elliot, during their *private* conference in the afternoon,

it would be useless to surmise. They met and parted upon terms of equality and apparent good understanding. There seems reason, however, to think that very little was definitely settled; and, after the lapse of two or three days, Captain Elliot merely announced in a circular that "negociations were still proceeding satisfactorily," but at the same time "he warned her Majesty's subjects against proceeding to Canton for the present, as it would be acting contrary to what he conceived right for the public interest." At the same time, however, Hong Kong was proclaimed a British possession, and all its Chinese inhabitants declared to be British subjects. Provision was also made for the government of the island.

Whatever terms Keshen may have agreed to at the conference, it is well known that he was soon forbidden by the emperor to carry them into execution. They are therefore of little moment.

Captain Elliot returned on board the Nemesis in the afternoon, apparently satisfied; and in the evening a display of rockets and fireworks took place from the vessel, for the amusement of the Imperial Commissioner on shore.

In the mean time, the Madagascar returned down the river with the marines. On the following day, the 28th, two superior mandarins came on board to pay their respects, and were saluted with three guns; and, later in the day, the whole body of the Hong merchants likewise came to pay their respects to his Excellency; but it is worthy of remark, that Keshen himself did not come *in person* to make a return-visit of ceremony.

Whatever may have been the reason of this omission, it was unfortunate that Captain Elliot did not take some notice of it. It might be said that Keshen was afraid of compromising himself with his imperial master, if he condescended so far as to pay a visit to a foreigner on board his own vessel. But it is possible that another reason also may have weighed not a little in his mind. He got the Kwang Chow Foo, or prefect of Canton, who was there, to ask Captain Elliot to dine with him on board his barge, or large, covered boat, and his invitation was accepted. Keshen looked upon this as far below the supposed dignity belonging to the rank which Elliot held. After this act of condescension on Captain Elliot's part, Keshen not improbably regarded it as far beneath his own dignity personally to visit Captain Elliot. Nor is it at all surprising, when we consider that the court of China is, without exception, the most ceremonious in the world. Indeed, at Pekin there is a regular "Court of Ceremonies," to arrange all the complicated details.

Thus ended the whole business of this famous conference. It should also be mentioned that, before they parted, Keshen made a few presents to Captain Elliot, but not of any very great value, and others to Captain Herbert, which were divided among some of the officers. Soon after three o'clock the steam was once more got up, and giving and receiving a parting salute of three guns, the Nemesis turned her head again down the river, having the Louisa cutter in tow. The forts at the Bogue again saluted her as she passed; and, late in the evening, she came to anchor in Tong Koo Roads, until daylight

enabled her to proceed to join the Commodore, who was then in Hong Kong harbour.

As yet the treaty, in virtue of which we took possession of Hong Kong, had not received the emperor's assent; and our own precipitate restoration of Chusan was likely rather to impede than to promote the object it was intended to effect. The mere word of Keshen was the only authority which we had to rely upon, the ratification of which was at least doubtful. However, both the Commodore and Captain Elliot seemed already to regard the island of Hong Kong as a positive acquisition, and took the present opportunity of steaming all round it on board the Nemesis, and seemed to be more than ever proud of its possession.

As soon as the Commodore had returned on board his own ship, the Nemesis proceeded, with Captain Elliot, once more to Macao, where he landed with his suite the same evening, well satisfied, to all appearance, with the result—so far as it could be called a result—of the great diplomatic interview which he had held with the emperor's representative.

We may gather from Keshen's own report of this grand meeting some insight into the effect which it was likely to have produced at Pekin and in the emperor's cabinet. He states that, "never having visited the Bocca Tigris, or made himself acquainted with the condition of the defences of the river, and having received a request from Captain Elliot that he might have an interview with him (after he had become pliant and submissive), he took the opportunity of hitting two birds with one stone; and, as he descended the river (to look

at the Bogue, of course), he was *met* by Elliot near the Second Bar, who had come in a steam-vessel, and desired to see him. His retinue did not exceed a few tens of persons; he brought with him no ships of war, and his language and demeanour, upon that occasion, were most respectful. He presented a rough draft of several articles, on which he desired to deliberate, the major part having reference to the troublesome minutiæ of commerce; and he agreed that, for the future, in any cases of the smuggling of opium, or of other contraband traffic or evasion of duties, both ship and cargo should be confiscated. Among the number of his proposals were some highly objectionable, which were at the moment pointed out and *refused;* upon which the said foreigner begged that emendations should be offered and considered of. This request has accordingly been granted to him; and, when these points shall be determined on and agreed to, the whole shall be presented for your Majesty's inspection. Your slave then parted with Elliot."

Thus, little good appears to have resulted from this first interview. Indeed, shortly after his report of it to the emperor, Keshen received a severe reprimand from the emperor for what he had already even *pretended to promise.* He was told that "a mere glance at his memorials had filled the emperor with indignation."

Yihshan, a Tartar general of great repute, and who will be found to figure afterwards on several occasions, was now sent down to Canton, invested with the office of "general pacificator of the rebellious;" and two assistant functionaries, called Lungwan and Yang Fang,

were also ordered to repair thither, "to co-operate in the work of extermination." Additional troops were despatched: orders were sent that "the soldiers should be exercised and encouraged by rewards;" that "additional supplies of provisions, money, arms, cannon, and powder, should be procured; and that all were to unite in perfect harmony with Yihshan, in order to recover the lost places, and clearly to display the vengeance of Heaven, achieving for themselves great merit."

These orders of the emperor were issued on the 30th of January, but did not reach Keshen until the 10th or 11th of February. On our side, nothing important took place for several days; arrangements connected with the establishment of Hong Kong were continued; and there was a constant passing to and fro of officers between that place and Macao, for which purpose the Nemesis was always employed.

The 2nd of February was the day on which it had been agreed with Keshen that the trade of the Port of Canton should be opened — namely, ten days after the Chinese New Year. No proclamation to that effect, however, was issued by the Commissioner. Various rumours were already afloat concerning the measures in progress up the river for obstructing its navigation: and, at length, finding that the "satisfactory manner" in which it had been proclaimed, on the 30th of January, that the negociations which were proceeding had already, in the following week, assumed an "unsatisfactory tone," and that, in fact, every thing appeared very delusive, Captain Elliot determined to go up to the Bocca Tigris in person, and demand a distinct explanation from

Keshen of what were really his intentions. It was known that Keshen had reached the Bogue; and Captain Herbert had even sent an officer to compliment him upon his arrival on the 29th of January, and a salute of three guns was fired in honour of the occasion. On the 10th of February, Captain Elliot embarked on board the Nemesis, accompanied by Captain Smith and Captain Knowles, of the artillery, together with Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, and Mr. Morrison, as interpreter, and was conveyed up the river, anchoring for the night in Anson's Bay.

On the following morning they once more passed through the Bogue, the battlements of which were manned by the Chinese, as the steamer passed; and a salute of three guns was fired from each of the batteries, which was of course returned by the Nemesis. So far every thing looked pacific and complimentary enough. Having passed completely through the Bogue, she came to anchor, about ten o'clock, above the forts, a little to the north of Anunghoy, and close to the boats of the Imperial Commissioner, who was already there. This was on the 11th of February; and it is a curious coincidence that it was on this day that Keshen received the imperial commands to resume vigorous measures against Captain Elliot and all the foreigners. At all events, even if the communication had not reached him previously, it was certainly put into his hands on the morning of this second interview with Captain Elliot; for he himself afterwards acknowledged, in a public proclamation, that he received it on the 11th of February, viz. on this very day.

The interview on this occasion was comparatively one of little ceremony; indeed, Keshen had made no preparation for it on shore, and received Captain Elliot in his own covered barge, unattended by any mandarins of rank, and without any display or attempt at effect.

Captain Elliot, on his part, having merely introduced the officers who came up with him from Macao, in order that they might make their bow of respect to the emperor's representative, immediately proceeded to business without loss of time, in the most private manner possible. During the few minutes that his suite were present, however, it did not escape their notice that some mighty change had already come over the spirit of the great commissioner. There was an appearance of constraint about him, as if his mind was downcast, and his heart burdened and heavily laden. He never indeed for a moment lost his self-possession, or that dignified courtesy of manner which no people can better assume than the Chinese of rank; but there was still something undefinable in his bearing, which impressed upon all present the conviction that something untoward had happened. Some of the party even guessed that he had been degraded from his high rank, which was in fact the case. Enough, at all events, was visible upon the surface, to awaken Captain Elliot to the necessity of extreme tact and caution, before he placed any reliance upon Keshen's *power*, whatever may have been his *will*, to act up to his promises.

What may have passed at this second interview between these two high representatives it is not the

place here to discuss; suffice it to say, that the conference on this day lasted no less than six hours, and was renewed on the following morning for about three hours more. This will be enough to show that many points of great importance and some minuteness must have been closely debated.

Keshen, mean time, was doubtless fully aware, that not one single iota of what he might promise would ever be acceded to by his haughty master; and, therefore, his only object in protracting the discussion and entering into the "troublesome minutiæ of commerce" must have been to leave something still *open* to discussion, and some points remaining to investigate, "upon principles of the purest reason."

How great must have been his rejoicing, when he at length succeeded in winning from Captain Elliot a further delay of ten days, for the fair preparation of a definitive treaty for his signature! What a heavy weight must have been removed from his oppressed spirit, when he at length beheld the dreaded steamer depart peaceably from the Bogue! The certain reprieve of ten days, in which he might perhaps complete the preparations already commenced and even far advanced for the defence of his strongest positions, was indeed a piece of unlooked-for good fortune.

Captain Elliot immediately returned to Macao in the Nemesis, which took in tow his own cutter, the Louisa, which was generally in attendance on him. The formal drawing-out of the definitive treaty was hastened on, in order that every excuse for further delay on the part of Keshen might be removed. Indeed, ten days had only

been fixed as the *longest* period, within which, if the treaty were not executed, hostilities would be renewed.

Perhaps, after all, it redounded to our credit, that extreme measures were only at length adopted, when every other means of effecting a settlement had been tried in vain. Conciliation, negociation, and appeals to their "good faith," and even to treaties, had completely failed "again and a third time," as the Chinese phrase it, before the stronger argument of gunpowder and cold steel was brought into play. There was something of magnanimity even in our apparent hesitation, and it was perhaps a virtue that we paused before we struck our heaviest blow. Forbearance towards a feeble enemy, as long as there was the faintest hope of bringing him to reason by simpler means, will redound more to our honour in the pages of future history, than a precipitate display of our energy and our power.

The treaty which was ultimately concluded was much more advantageous to commerce and civilization in general, than it would probably have been, had an earlier settlement taken place. The Chinese were brought to yield by *degrees*, and, therefore, the compact is much more likely to be durable, than if it had been wrung from them by an earlier and more sudden emergency.

Nevertheless, before even the draught of the proposed treaty had been fully drawn up at Macao, rumours were continually brought concerning the extensive preparations for defence which were still going on up the river. Some naval and military officers were accordingly sent up to the Bogue, to ascertain how far these

rumours might be well founded; and it was now discovered "that military works upon a great scale were in progress, that troops were collected upon the heights, that entrenched camps were being formed on both sides of the river, and that the island of North Wantung was bristling with cannon."

These preparations certainly looked very unlike the preliminaries to the signature of a treaty of peace; "and from this moment," says Sir Gordon Bremer, "I must confess, that my faith in the sincerity of the Chinese commissioner was completely destroyed." It was in fact to be no longer doubted that hostilities would be speedily resumed. And although the orders of the emperor to Keshen to cancel the treaty agreed on, and to provide means for the immediate extermination of the foreigners, had not then been made public, enough was already known to make it evident that the intentions of the government were very far from being of a peaceful nature.

On his side, Captain Elliot had done his utmost to impress the Chinese with a confidence in his "good faith;" and so anxious was he to hasten the evacuation of Chusan, that he had not only sent up a vessel of war to convey the necessary orders, but had also forwarded an overland despatch, by the hands of a Chinese special messenger, to the same purport.

Scarcely a month, however, had elapsed when Captain Elliot began to doubt whether the Chinese really meant to act up to *their* promises with equal good faith. On the 20th of January, he had declared, in a public proclamation, that he had no reason to call in

question the "scrupulous sincerity and *enlarged opinions* of the very eminent person with whom negociations had been pending;" and it was just a month afterwards, on the 20th of February, that he declared that the "imperial minister and high commissioner had failed to conclude the treaty which had been sent up to the Bogue ready prepared for signature." This document was carried up by the Nemesis. But, as the commissioner had already left the Bogue and gone to Canton, it was transmitted to him by the hands of a confidential person in the employment of Keshen, who had been distinctly named to Captain Elliot for the purpose. Four days were allowed for the return of the messenger, and the Nemesis was directed to wait at the Bogue for the answer, until the expiration of that period, when she was to return to Macao, either with or without the treaty.

As the time agreed on approached its expiration, reports became more numerous than ever, concerning the hostile preparations in progress. The edict of the emperor addressed to Keshen, before spoken of, was now made public, and a proclamation was pasted on the walls of Canton, (but whether by the orders of the viceroy or not does not appear certain,) by which a reward of 50,000 dollars each was offered for the heads of Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer!

The four days of the stay of the Nemesis at the Bogue were not spent unprofitably. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to examine the new works of the Chinese, many of which were still in progress, (during a *truce* and while a treaty of peace had been

agreed on!) Numerous sandbag batteries had been erected, and others were in course of completion, halfway up the hill of Anunghoy. Troops were crowding upon the hills on the opposite side, while upon the Island of North Wantung equal activity was displayed.

But the observations were not limited entirely to the works at the Bogue. Captain Hall set out with a single boat's crew upon an adventurous and interesting excursion up Anson's Bay, to the mouth of the river in which the junks had been destroyed on the day of the action of Chuenpee. Just within the entrance, several large mandarin boats were now observed collected together, and surrounded by a vast number of labouring men. This excited some surprise, as there were no works visible upon which they could be employed: but the object of this bustle was unexpectedly discovered afterwards. The mandarin boats and a great part of the people, thinking probably that the single boat of the Nemesis was only the advanced one of many others similar to those which had destroyed their war-junks, made off as fast as they could, leaving her to pursue her course unmolested.

Having, in the former ascent of the river in the Nemesis, observed that a branch of it turned off to the right towards Chuenpee, Captain Hall determined to explore it now. It branched off about one and a half to two miles from the entrance, and soon led to a very considerable village on the right or Chuenpee side (in ascending), while, nearly opposite to it, a large sandbattery, recently erected, was discovered, mounting

eight guns, and further on was a strong stone-battery. Neither of these fired at the boat, although the gunners ran down to their guns, as if apprehensive of an attack.

To the astonishment of all in the boat, it was now found that this branch of the river, or creek, or whatever it might be called, instead of leading further up the country, inland, gradually turned round and encircled the whole of Chuenpee, communicating with the "outer waters" to the southward of that promontory. Thus it was evident that Chuenpee was an island.

Having passed quite through the passage, so as to reach the point of junction with the "outer waters," Captain Hall landed on Chuenpee in company with Mr. Turner, the surgeon of the vessel, and Mr. Gray, a midshipman of H.M.S. Herald, and, sending the boat round the promontory to the opposite side, walked across without any molestation. Nothing particular worth noticing was observed in this excursion, except the large farm-houses, which were passed, together with several extensive sugar-works, in full operation. A visit made to the Tycocktow side of the river was less promising, although equally successful. It was thought desirable, on the following day, to reconnoitre the defences in that direction; and accordingly Captain Hall proceeded in the ship's cutter across the river for that purpose. A large number of troops were collected upon the heights, upon which were numerous tents; and several large transport junks, not less than twenty sail, were hastily landing troops, guns, and ammunition. It was also noticed that boats were passing round at the back of the hill and works, through a large canal or

creek; so that, although it was not possible to explore the lines of communication from one part to the other, it became very evident that the neighbourhood of the river, although apparently mountainous and rugged, was accessible to boats on all sides, and was in fact composed of distinct islands.

The question of the intentions of the Chinese was soon decided; for the fort on Wantung, as the boat passed between it and the mainland, on that side, fired at it with round shot, and very nearly with effect. There was no mistaking the tone of defiance which this indicated; but those on board the boat were already sufficiently acquainted with the Chinese character to be reluctant to turn back at this threat, because the affair would have been reported as a great victory, with their usual exaggeration. The little bow-gun of the boat was therefore instantly fired at the troops who were looking over the battlements of the fort; and no further molestation being attempted by the Chinese, she again pursued her way, content with this token of defiance.

It was further remarked that, at several of the forts along the Bogue, the Chinese soldiers were practising their guns at a mark, probably to ascertain their range; and they were observed to point them at particular spots, as if they thought to do certain execution by their first discharge.

These little reconnoitring excursions sufficed to show, were anything still wanting to bring conviction to the most unbelieving, that the Chinese were fully aware that no treaty of peace was likely to be signed, and that they looked forward to the resumption of hostili-

ties, not only without much apprehension, but with tolerable confidence in the probability of their own success.

On the evening of the 18th, the four days agreed on for the return of the messenger from Canton having fully expired, the Nemesis was moved up from Chuenpee to the Bogue, where she remained one hour, waiting for an answer from the Imperial Commissioner. None, however, was brought; and as every thing now so plainly indicated that cannon-balls alone were to be expected as a reply, it was resolved to return to Macao, and report all that had been seen and done to the plenipotentiary and the commander-in-chief. Having communicated with H.M.S. Herald as she descended, and continuing her course throughout the night with great caution, the Nemesis arrived at Macao soon after daylight. Not a moment was lost in communicating the results of the reconnoitring excursions, the firing of a shot from North Wantung, and the non-appearance of the messenger at the appointed time.

The most incredulous now no longer doubted; the film was raised even from before the eyes of Captain Elliot himself, and orders were given that all the officers should join their respective ships. The light division, which was then in the roads of Macao, or at the mouth of the river, was placed under the orders of Captain Herbert (since made K.C.B.) of the Calliope, and was directed to proceed immediately to the Bogue. It consisted of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, and the Nemesis; and the object was "to prevent, as much as possible, any further defensive

preparations on the part of the enemy, but not to run any unnecessary hazard until the main body of the force came up." At the same time, the commodore hastened over to Hong Kong, in the Madagascar steamer, for the purpose of taking up the ships of the line, consisting of the Wellesley, Blenheim, and Melville, seventy-fours, and the steamers, Queen and Madagascar; leaving the Druid, with the Jupiter troop-ship, and the transports, Sophia, Minerva, Thetis, and Eagle to follow.

These active measures were briefly announced by Captain Elliot, in a circular issued on the same day to the following effect, simply stating that " circumstances had induced the commander-in-chief to announce to H.M. plenipotentiary his intention to move the forces towards the Bocca Tigris "—from which it would seem that the responsibility of this inevitable measure was rather assumed by Sir Gordon Bremer than by the plenipotentiary; but Captain Elliot had also written to Captain Herbert, stating that he left him at liberty, and *moved* to prevent the continuance of defensive preparations at the Bogue.

It was on the day following this movement (the 20th) that Keshen's notification of his unwillingness to continue negociations became known at Macao; and shortly afterwards, the emperor's edict (before alluded to) was also promulgated, in which every proposed measure of conciliation towards the foreigners was recalled, and orders given, on the other hand, that " they should be rooted out entirely."

On the morning of the 21st, a reconnoitring party landed, unperceived, upon the island of Wantung, con-

sisting of Captain Elliot, Captains Herbert and Belcher, and Lieutenant Stransham, and they were able to count seventeen more guns, newly-mounted, in addition to those which had been observed on the former occasion.

The truce had already fully expired, but hostilities did not commence immediately, as might have been expected. On the 22d, a Chinese boat happened to be stopped, in which was found a messenger, who was recognised by Lieutenant Watson as an active agent of the Chinese authorities. It was naturally suspected that he was the bearer of orders of some kind or other to the local officers, and such was found to be the case. They were addressed to Admiral Kwan, desiring him to hurry on the stopping-up of the channel which runs at the back of Anunghoy, by which the latter becomes an island. The means employed were stones and stakes, and sunken junks, which had been collected in large quantities at a place called Sanmannkow, which must have been the large town known to lie in the rear of Anunghoy. Thus all our observations respecting the intentions of the authorities were fully confirmed.

On our part, it could now no longer be doubted that a heavy blow must at once be struck. Keshen had by no means concealed from the emperor the great difficulty of defending the Canton river, the laxity of the Chinese military system, and the utter inability of their forces to withstand the power and skill of the barbarians. All these were truths far too unwelcome to find credence at Pekin; and when the result at length proved how well founded they were, the failures and disasters were laid to the account of treason and bribery.

CHAPTER XVI.

Keshen's description of the "outer-waters" and of the Bogue Forts—His report to the Emperor of the inefficiency of the defences, and doubtful character of the people—No hope of victory—Begs the Emperor to grant Captain Elliot's requests—Is degraded—Advanced squadron at the Bogue—Captain Elliot waits there one hour in the Nemesis—No communication—Junks captured—First hostile act on our side—Chinese fired first shot—Nemesis and boats under Captain Herbert destroy a masked battery at the bottom of Anson's Bay—Proceed up the river to the back of Anunghoy—Fort and rafts destroyed—The Commodore joins at the Bogue with three line-of-battle ships—Description of the Bogue Forts—Chain and rafts—Preparations for the attack—Howitzer-battery, erected in the night on South Wantung, covered by the Nemesis—Disposition of our forces—26th February, 1841—Capture of the Bogue—Simultaneous attack on Anunghoy and North Wantung—Dead calm—Wantung shelled by howitzers—Troops land on Wantung—Marines under Sir Le Fleming Senhouse take possession of Anunghoy—Chinese refuse quarter—Attempts to save them—Capture of Little Tycocktow under Lieutenant Maitland—Number of Chinese prisoners killed and wounded—Admiral Kwan killed by bayonet-wound in his breast—Total number of guns captured—Blockade of river raised.

Keshen, who had spent all his life either in large provincial capitals or in the imperial city itself, could have had little opportunity of learning any thing, either relating to foreign trade or foreign ships; still less was he acquainted with the majesty of the "outer-waters"

along the coast of the empire. His description of what he saw, during his short excursion to the Bogue, is very curious, and shows clearly how much he must have been surprised at the sight of the barbarian ships. "Even there," says he, (that is, outside the Bogue) "the sea is vast and wide, with boisterous waves and foaming billows, lashed up into fury by fierce winds, majestically grand! How widely different the outer seas are from our inland river-waters!" Having thus given his majesty a dash of the sublime, to show what a perilous place it was, he proceeds to say, "that, having changed his boat for a sea-going vessel, he stood out for the Bocca Tigris; and, as soon as he arrived there, made a most careful inspection of every fort and battery." What follows is extremely remarkable; and, while it points out the real ability and good sense of Keshen, must have appeared no less incredible than it was alarming to the emperor and his ministers. Keshen was really a bold and sincere as well as an observant man, or else he would not have dared to write the following account of the Bogue:—"Such forts," says he, "as do not stand completely isolated in the midst of the sea are yet found to have channels, affording ready water-communication behind the hills on which they are situated, *so that it were easy to go round and strictly blockade them*;[1] nor would it, in that case, be easy to introduce provisions for the garrison." He then states, that he carefully examined the depth of water in all

[1] This is precisely what has been already stated as a thing unknown to us, until the discovery was made by some of our own boats, particularly by those of the Nemesis.

parts; and that the soundings, even at high water, were less than he expected. And he boldly ventures his opinion, that the " reputation of the fortifications of the Bocca Tigris, as a place of defence, has been acquired, first, by the circumstance, that large merchant-vessels require a somewhat greater depth of water than is to be found in most parts of the passage [meaning, that the channel they can pass through is narrow]; and, secondly, because that, in ordinary times [and here is the remarkable part of it], when the foreigners *observe our laws* and restraints, they naturally do not venture to avoid the forts by passing through circuitous courses. But, when they bring troops to resist and oppose, rather than to obey, they may sneak in at every hole and corner, and are under *no necessity* of passing by the forts. As soon as they have in any way got beyond the Bocca Tigris, there are communications open to them in every direction. It is, then, clear," he goes on, " that we have no defences worthy to be called such. It is, in truth, the local character of the country, that there is no important point of defence by which the whole may be maintained."

No wonder that such a declaration from a man who was also the third member of the imperial cabinet, taken, as it was, from personal observation, should have sounded unpalatable and even traitorous to the Emperor's ear. But this was not all. Indeed one might almost imagine that some European must have pointed out to him defects which his own unpractised and unaided eye could never have detected. Lin, on the other hand, had never dared to report to his master the full extent of the in-

formation which was given to him, though he was fully prepared to adopt every advice which tended to obstruct the commerce of England, and impede an amicable settlement of the difficulties. Not so, however, the more upright and clear-sighted Keshen. He calls in question the very quality of the guns. He tells his master, "that their number at that time [that is, before the additional preparations were made] scarcely exceeded two hundred, which were barely sufficient to fortify the *fronts*, while the flanks of the works were left altogether unprotected. Of these," he added, "few were in good order and ready for use; the original model was not good, the body of the gun being very large, while the bore was very small; and, therefore, the sea being at that place wide [only three-quarters of a mile], the shot will not carry above half-way. Again," says he, "the embrasures in which they are placed are as large as doors, wide enough almost to allow people to pass in and out; they would afford no shelter at all to our people from a sustained fire of the enemy. They may, therefore, be said to be very defective."

How this must have startled the imperial advisers! Such truths are always hard to bear, and harder to believe, nd were consequently not believed, *because* they were true. But Keshen did his best to improve his weapons; he sent for a founder of cannon, who gave him a new model, and undertook to make some experimental pieces. Yet it did not escape Keshen that, even if he succeeded in casting good cannon, he could only do so as a preparation *for the future*. "They could not be ready," says he, "for the business we

have now in hand. These are the proofs," he adds, "of the inefficiency of our military armament, which is such *that no reliance can be placed upon it.*"

We may venture the assertion that it must have been indeed a man of strong mind, who could have dared, (in China of all countries) to beg the "Emperor's sacred glance to light upon such statements." Having finished his view of the defences, Keshen next actually dared to impugn even the defenders.

He proceeded to say that it would be necessary to employ a naval as well as a land force to defend the Bogue; but then threw out a suspicion that the seamen were not to be depended on; for that "he had heard a report that after the battle of Chuenpee these men all went to their commander or Tetuh, and demanded money of him, threatening that they would otherwise disperse; and he had, therefore, personally made inquiry into the matter, and found that the report was perfectly true, and, moreover, that, the Tetuh, having no other remedy, (evidently the pay was in arrear) was obliged to *pawn his own clothes and other things*, by which means he was enabled to give each of them a bonus of two dollars, and thus only could he get them to remain for a time at their posts."[1]

Moreover, he added, "our ships of war are not large and strong, and it is difficult to mount heavy guns upon them. Hence it is evident that our force here (he was

[1] This was on more than one occasion the case during the war. Soldiers were often found among the killed and wounded, each having two dollars on their persons, and on one occasion even six dollars.

writing at the Bogue) as a guard and defence against the foreigners is insufficient."

Keshen next remarked upon the character of the *people* of the province. "Your slave has found them ungrateful and avaricious. Of those who are actual traitors it is unnecessary to say any thing. But the rest are accustomed to see the foreigners day by day, and intimacy has grown up between them." And he proceeds to contrast them very unfavourably with the people of Chusan, who "felt at once that the foreigners were of *another race.*"[1]

Keshen then appealed to the history of the past, and made particular allusion to the difficulty which had formerly been experienced, in overcoming even the pirates upon the coast, who were at length only reduced to submission by a promise of security, upon condition of laying down their arms.[2] Finally he expressed great fear that if he gave battle he would be unable to command a victory, and in that case the dignity of the empire would be sullied, and the lives of the people sacrificed.

To understand the full importance of these remarks, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were written before the action at the Bogue took place, and as a ground for asking for the Emperor's consent to the terms proposed by Captain Elliot. Others, however, were called to aid in his councils at this time, and,

[1] This, probably, alludes to the maxim of the Chinese moral code, which says that it should be remembered that a "foreigner, though he be a *good man*, and on terms of intimacy with you, is still *of a different race.*"

[2] This alludes to the famous pirate Kochinga, who was bought off and made an admiral.

among the high officers of Canton, Lin himself was consulted. They appeared to concur with Keshen; at all events, they knew that upon his head would rest all the responsibility.

The memorial containing Captain Elliot's demands was sent up to Pekin, together with this report, which was founded upon personal observation; and Keshen implored the Emperor to look with pity upon "his black-haired flock, the people, and that he would be graciously pleased to accede to the requests made by the foreigners, and to grant them favours beyond measure. Thus," he added, "shall we lay the foundation for victory hereafter, by binding and curbing the foreigners now, while we *prepare the* means of cutting them off at some future period."

Keshen was a true Chinaman of the new school (for there are new schools even in antique China) and, in most respects, the very opposite of Lin. Sensible of the weakness of his country when matched with England, conscious of his inability to fight his enemy with success, he, nevertheless, hazarded the chance, when the *commands* of the Emperor compelled him to aim the blow. He, however, did his utmost to gain time, and even endeavoured to impose upon Captain Elliot, and to hope against hope itself. After all that Keshen had said, the defence of the Bogue was conducted, as we shall now perceive, with more energy than might have been expected, and, indeed, with considerable spirit.

We may now turn from this not uninteresting digression, to the proceedings of the advanced squadron at the Bogue, under Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert. Orders had been already given by the commodore to seize

and detain five very large trading-junks, apparently bound to Batavia, which had been seen by the Nemesis on her way down to Macao from the Bogue, standing out of the river, either unconscious of impending hostilities, or hastening to get out before they commenced. These were all captured by the advanced squadron the same evening.

On the following morning at dawn the Nemesis took Captain Elliot once more up to the Bogue, where he remained about an hour, as if in anxious expectation of some communication from the shore. But this last lingering hope was again deceived. On her way up, the steamer took possession of one very large trading-junk, which was detained and anchored in-shore. Captain Elliot, being now fully satisfied that no peaceable communication from the Chinese was any longer to be expected, finally left the Bogue; and, finding H. M. S. Herald at anchor off Lankeet, just below Chuenpee, he went on board that vessel, leaving the Nemesis to pursue her way down to Hong Kong, taking in tow one of the large junks detained by the boats of the Samarang.

The detention of the junks was the first direct act of hostility on our part, since the period of the truce had expired. But the Chinese had previously fired at the boat of the Nemesis, as before noticed. On the 22nd, Captain Herbert, with the light squadron, took up his position at the anchorage off South Wantung; where Captain Elliot announced to him that Keshen had failed to conclude the treaty, and that he was therefore to consider himself *moved*, to prevent the continuance of defensive preparations. The Nemesis having joined him from Hong Kong on the 23rd, Captain Herbert em-

barked on board that vessel, and, taking with him the pinnaces of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, and Alligator, commanded by Lieutenants Watson, Bower, Dewes, and Woolcomb, proceeded up Anson's Bay, to explore the river before described as opening at the bottom of it.

It was reported that the Chinese were staking it across; and, from the bustle which had been previously observed there, when the boat of the Nemesis ventured into it, there was reason to believe that hostile preparations were being made. Moreover, it was thought advisable, if possible, to examine the channel which had been found to lead round in the rear of Anunghoy; for upon this fortress, as the most extensive of the defences of the Bogue, it was thought the principal attack of the squadron would be made. Suspicion was also excited by the contents of the intercepted despatch of Keshen to Admiral Kwan.

On entering the river, it was no longer to be doubted that preparations for defence had been commenced. A great number of boats were observed busily employed in driving stakes or piles into the bed of the river, across which others were trying to moor a strong raft. No sooner was the steamer discovered approaching, than the boats all pulled away, and the Chinese were seen scampering off as fast as possible. However, when it came to the point of pulling up the stakes, in order to make a passage between them for the boats, which were in tow, all on a sudden a heavy discharge from a masked battery, close abreast of the spot, was poured upon them, and at once betrayed the cause of the secret preparations before observed.

The steamer immediately poured in a volley of grape and canister from her bow and stern guns, while the boats pulled away towards the shore, to carry the works by storm, opening their fire from their bow-guns as they advanced. The Chinese fled, after some resistance; and the battery, which was of very recent construction, was at once taken possession of by the crews of the boats, the colours being taken by Lieutenant Bowers, First Lieutenant of H.M.S. Samarang. It was found to mount twenty guns of various calibre, which were immediately destroyed. There were also lying on the ground a vast number of guns dismounted, probably not less than sixty, which appeared to have been landed out of their junks, or recovered after the destruction of their fleet in the bay. These were all rendered useless, with the exception of a few brass ones, which were carried away as trophies. Their magazines and buildings were also totally destroyed. The number of killed among the Chinese were about thirty, but no wounded were found, as they had probably been carried off by their companions in arms. On our side no casualties happened.

Content, for the present, with this successful feat, Captain Herbert returned in the Nemesis, and rejoined the squadron, at its anchorage, a little to the southward of South Wantung. On the following morning they all returned to the scene of the previous exploit, and set about pulling up the piles to clear a passage. This time likewise they were fired at, but from a different quarter. The Chinese troops, posted on the hills above, commenced firing at the working party, but

it was soon returned from the 32-pounders, by which they were speedily dispersed. A passage having at length been cleared, the Nemesis steamed up the river for some distance, until she had nearly reached the large town at the back of Anunghoy; but, as there appeared to be no further hostile preparations going on, Captain Herbert thought it better to return and complete the destruction of the fort, raft, &c., which had been only partially done the day before; after which they returned to the squadron, which the commodore himself had now joined, with the three line-of-battle ships and the Druid.

The next day, the 25th of February, was the great day of preparation for the combined and resolute attack of all the Bogue forts. The batteries which were to be reduced were as follows: the geographical positions of the Bogue have already been described. Beginning from the south end of the promontory of Anunghoy, which of course you approach first, there were several strong works along the shore, the ridges on the hill's side above being also armed with guns wherever they could be conveniently placed; and upon the top, which was pretty steep, an entrenched camp had been formed, calculated for about twelve hundred men. On this side were two considerable sand-batteries, not long erected, mounting, as was afterwards found, thirty guns of small calibre.

Proceeding on along the front was the old battery of Anunghoy, which, in a manner, seemed to have given place to a new and extremely well-built one, partly of granite and partly of chunam, and reaching down almost to high-water mark. The rear of this battery, running

up the steep hill-side, was enclosed by a high wall, on which were steps or platforms for firing musketry.

Continuing our survey of the walls parallel with the passage through the Bogue, and passing out of the southern fort by its northern gate, you found a line of steep rocky beach, about two to three hundred yards long, and unprotected, which led to the northern Anunghoy fort. Upon this beach was erected a sort of platform, made of wood, serving merely as a line of cummunication between the forts, for the passage of troops. Having traversed this causeway, you arrive at the northern fort. This was a less formidable one than its fellow lower down, but still it presented an extensive line of works. The whole together completely defended the river front of the promontory of Anunghoy. The number of guns mounted upon all these works was afterwards found to be very great, and the long line of embrazures certainly looked very formidable.

The island of North Wantung, which is opposite to these forts, was thickly studded with cannon all over. Its eastern side presented a formidable line of guns, and was considered by the Chinese to be its most important side of defence, for it fronted Anunghoy, commanding the passage between them; here they had planted some of their largest guns. An object upon which they had placed great reliance was the large chain cable, which they had carried across the passage from Anunghoy to a rock close to Wantung, and which they had secured into the solid rock on either side, something after the manner of the chains of a suspension bridge. The rafts which supported it were strongly moored, and the

Chinese had adopted a curious contrivance for raising or lowering the chain, for the purpose of letting their own junks pass through, by means of a kind of windlass.

A passage was not forced through this chain and rafts until after the forts were taken; and the Chinese appeared to forget that there was another channel round the west side of Wantung, and that even had that been impassable, we could have sent our light steamers, rocket-boats, and gun-boats, round the back of Anunghoy itself. They, moreover, made little calculation of the great power of the rising and falling of the tide, the weight and strength of a line-of-battle ship, or the terrific power of her broadside.

The little island of South Wantung had been almost unaccountably left unoccupied by the Chinese; but, in reality, it was within range, and well commanded by the strong batteries and Hill Fort upon North Wantung. The oversight rendered their positions much less tenable, and soon decided the plan of attack which was adopted by Sir Gordon Bremer. It was as follows: a battery of two 8-inch iron and one 24-pounder brass howitzers was to be erected during the night, in a hollow, upon the top of this little island of South Wantung, which was very favourably situated for the object required. This battery would not only greatly annoy the Chinese in the northern island, and probably shell them out, but also distract their attention from the attack upon Anunghoy.

The commodore reserved to himself (with the Wellesley, 74, and Druid, 42) the attack on the south-west batteries of Wantung, that is, on the side not fronting Anunghoy; while Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, in the Blen-

heim, 74, with the Melville, 74, and The Queen Steamer, together with the rocket-boats of the two ships, was to attack the batteries of Anunghoy, using his own discretion as to the best mode of placing them for that purpose. The light division under Captain Herbert, consisting of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, and Modeste, were to direct their attention to the batteries on the northern and north-western side of Wantung, and also those facing Anunghoy, and either to anchor or keep under weigh, according as it might appear most likely to ensure the object in view. The Madagascar and Nemesis steamers were to land the troops, but the latter was more particularly employed to cover the working party, who were to raise the battery on South Wantung, and also the troops on shore.

It was not likely that the land forces would have much to do; but it was directed that detachments of the 26th and 49th regiments, with the 37th M. N. I. and Bengal volunteers, under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th, should be placed on board the steamers and the transport-boats, together with a few Chinese boats collected for the purpose, and they were to remain off the southern end of South Wantung, protected from the fire of the enemy's guns, until the Chinese should be driven out of the batteries, when their subsequent movements were to be directed by signal. The royal marines also, under Captain Ellis, were to be held in readiness to land with the troops, and were to be accompanied by the two 6-pounder field-pieces of the Wellesley and Druid, with seamen to work and drag them; scaling-ladders were also to be carried with the force.

Soon after mid-day, on the 25th, the Nemesis took on board a detachment of one hundred and thirty of the Madras Native Infantry, for the purpose of assisting the royal artillery, under Captain Knowles and Lieutenant Spencer, in the erection of the mortar battery upon the top of South Wantung; and they were accompanied by Lieutenant Johnson and Lieutenant Rundall, of the Madras Engineers, with the same object. On her way across, the guns of the large Anunghoy Fort opened upon her, and were fired with tolerable precision, many of them passing quite near her, but fortunately without doing any damage. On arriving at the southern end of South Wantung, it was found that Sir Le Fleming Senhouse had already arrived in his own boat, together with a detachment of the Royal and Madras Artillery. The Anunghoy Battery continued firing, but without effect, and it was not returned for some time, by the orders of the commodore. However, as soon as the detachments were landed, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse himself gave permission to return the fire. No time was lost in landing ammunition and warlike implements upon the island, and parties were busily employed filling sand-bags preparatory to the erection of the battery above, the whole working party being perfectly protected from the fire of the Chinese.

In the mean time, the batteries on North Wantung began to open on the Nemesis; and, in order that she might get completely under cover of the island of South Wantung, she was run full in upon the shore, which was somewhat steep in that part; and thus she lay literally with her head out of water, and her stern deep in it, with-

out receiving any injury; her light draught of water enabled her to approach closer than any other vessel could have done. In this manner, all the shot of the batteries passed over her, without doing any mischief. The fire was not returned, both owing to the position in which she was, and because it could only have served to point out, in the darkness of the night, the situation of the working parties upon the island.

At daylight the battery was quite completed, and the Nemesis was ordered to withdraw; not long after which, the new battery opened fire in beautiful style, against North Wantung, under the direction of Captain Knowles. The rockets were thrown into it with great effect, and, together with the shells, could be seen to fall directly within the forts; this was shortly followed by a blaze of fire, from the burning of the Custom House and other buildings; soon after which, the outworks and sand-batteries were abandoned, and the Chinese took refuge principally in the upper fort. Their loss must have been considerable at all points; and the panic created by the bursting of the shells and rockets, which were quite new to them, evidently threw them into great disorder. It was reported, and there is reason to believe with truth, that the Chinese officers abandoned the place at the first commencement of the firing, and ran down to their boats, having locked the gates behind them, to prevent their own troops from following their example.

The grand combined attack was to have commenced early in the morning, and the troops were ordered to be in readiness at seven o'clock. The morning, however, was perfectly calm; the sun shone brilliantly, and lighted

up the scene of impending destruction and slaughter, as if it were to be a scene of rejoicing.

Until ten o'clock there was not a breath of air; when, a light breeze springing up, the Melville and Blenheim, accompanied by The Queen steamer, got under weigh, attended by three rocket-boats, the Blenheim being the leading ship. They stood in for the Southern Anunghoy Fort, running along towards the Anson's Bay side of it, in order to be out of range of its guns in front, so that they could throw in shot and shell upon its flank, without any risk of receiving injury themselves. The hill of Anunghoy was crowned with Chinese troops, their numerous silken banners floating gaily to the now reviving breeze. Some of their guns were discharged at a great distance; but the fire was kept up with spirit, though frequently out of range.

Not so, however, our own majestic ships, which slowly glided up to their positions without wasting a single shot, until, having anchored with springs on their cables, they could bring their broadsides to bear. The Blenheim, although the leading ship, was either carried by the tide, or else slightly touched the ground, and was soon overtaken by the Melville, which succeeded in taking up a more advantageous position in very gallant style. In the mean time, The Queen had commenced throwing shell into the sand-batteries and other works upon the hill's side; and, at the same time, the terrific broadsides of the Melville and the Blenheim opened upon the great battery; the rocket-boats also did their full share in the work of destruction. The Chinese could not long withstand these simultaneous attacks.

At about the same time with the attack on Anunghoy, began also that upon the batteries on the western and north-western side of Wantung, partly under the commodore in person, and partly under Captain Herbert. The ships[1] waited to receive the fire of the forts pretty close, and then at once poured in their iron shower upon the devoted batteries, with destructive effect. It would have been impossible for any troops to have long defended the island of Wantung, bristling though it then was with cannon, against the powerful force arrayed against it. Our battery of howitzers had been playing upon it for several hours; and now six or seven men-of-war, including one line-of-battle ship, the Wellesley, were battering it at the same time. But the defenders could not run away, being shut in on every side by the river; and it was perhaps fortunate for them that the Nemesis, which had already been engaged with the different batteries, was sent down to fetch the troop-boats from the southern island, under which they had been sheltered.

The land force was under the command of Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, who was already well known to the Chinese at Chuenpee. The detachments of the 26th and 49th were under Major Johnson, the marines under Captain Ellis, the 37th M. N. I. under Captain Duff, and the Bengal Volunteers under Captain Mee.

The scene on all sides at this moment was extremely imposing. The light breeze, which had barely served to bring the ships into position, had quite died away when the thunder of artillery commenced, as if it were

[1] Consisting of the Wellesley and Druid, with the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Modeste, and Sulphur.

unwilling to take them back again until their work was fully done. The heavy, curling smoke, scarcely broken by an occasional flash, hung gloomily on every side, as if to veil from sight the scene of destruction which was going on. For a time the firing ceased, in order to allow the smoke to rise; and, just at that moment, the troops were hastening towards Wantung, to take possession of the works, the firing of which had also ceased. At the same time, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, with the marines and a party of blue-jackets, landed, to the attack of Anunghoy.

At half-past one the troops were landed on Wantung by the Nemesis and Madagascar, assisted by boats. The object was of course to reach the hill fort as quickly as possible, and had the Chinese been better acquainted with the rules of European warfare, they would probably have at once surrendered themselves, seeing the utter hopelessness of resistance. Probably the fear of being put to death as prisoners prevented this timely sparing of blood. Our gallant troops and seamen pushed rapidly up the ascent over the ruined outworks, and might have suffered severe loss before they could have taken possession of the upper fort, had not the Chinese been almost panic-struck, or had they possessed weapons better calculated for the purpose of defence. But, instead of surrendering or accepting quarter, they again ran out of the fort and down the hill, and many of the poor fellows were shot in their vain attempts to fly, without any possible means of escape. The greater part of these took refuge in the lower Custom House Fort, where many of them were killed and

wounded before the rest surrendered, which, however, they at length did, to the number of about one thousand. The prisoners were soon afterwards taken to the mainland, and set at liberty, equally astonished as they were rejoiced at our leniency.

The Nemesis, in the mean time, had gone over to Anunghoy, to render assistance, if required, and there observed the marines and seamen of the Blenheim and Melville, under Sir Le F. Senhouse, in the act of taking possession of the forts. It appears that they landed without much opposition, though they were only three hundred in number; and not only passed through the southern fort, driving the Chinese up the hill above, but also proceeded along the beach towards the northern fort, of which they also made themselves masters after some resistance.

Whatever doubts Keshen himself had entertained concerning the defensibility of the Bogue, he had too much discretion to communicate them either to his officers or troops. They had little anticipation of the total defeat which they were soon to sustain, for they had made rude sketches delineating the entire destruction of our ships by the terrible fire of their artillery. Nevertheless, their resistance was of little avail, although instances of personal bravery occurred.

The British flag had by this time supplanted that of China upon all the defences of the Bogue. It was little past two o'clock, and ample time yet remained to turn the victory to the greatest possible advantage before the close of the day. The Nemesis once more crossed over to Wantung, and as she drew so little water, was enabled

to run close in, and make fast to the lower fort itself. Nothing, however, of a hostile character remained to be done in this quarter, but there was yet ample room to perform the more humane duty of assisting the unfortunate Chinese. Many of these poor fellows were floating about in the water, clinging in despair to any small piece of wood or bamboo they might have the good fortune to find. Many were drowned, as had before been the case at Chuenpee, but many yet remained to be saved. Boats were sent out for this purpose, but the Chinese notions of warfare were of such a barbarous nature, that they seemed to think the only object of any attempt to save them was, to reserve them for slow torture, mutilation, or death.[1] The poor fellows dived their heads under water as the boats approached them, attempting to drown themselves, and thus escape falling into our hands. Many were, nevertheless, dragged out, and carried on board the steamer, where they appeared bewildered by astonishment more than by fear, when they found that they were kindly treated. All of them were soon afterwards liberated without any conditions, and they then appeared thankful for their escape.

The day was now far advanced, but there still remained a fort and encampment to be taken possession of on the opposite side of the river, usually called Little Tycocktow, facing the western side of Wantung. There

[1] The Chinese rarely make any effort to save even their own countrymen from being drowned. Indeed, should a common boatman tumble overboard accidentally, his own companions in the boat will often give him no assistance, particularly if he is *really* in danger of being drowned without it.

was every probability that these would be carried without resistance, for the Wellesley had already seriously damaged the fort, by her beautiful firing of shells, in the morning, and the Modeste had also contributed to silence it. A party of the Wellesley's marines were embarked in her own boats, about four o'clock, under Lieutenant Maitland, and proceeded across, in company with the Nemesis, in order to complete the day's work. A few shots were fired by her as she approached the fort, but, finding they were not returned, the boats pushed off to land, including the boats of the Nemesis, with Captain Hall and Lieutenant Pedder. The fort was found abandoned; and having taken possession of it, they advanced up the hill in the rear with all speed, as they observed a body of Chinese in disorder close to an encampment upon the top of it. However, on the approach of the little party, they fled into the interior, abandoning their lines, magazines, &c. These were all set fire to and destroyed, and the effect of the blaze, which lasted for a considerable time, becoming more vivid as the night closed in, spread far and wide among the distant inhabitants of the country the general panic which had already seized their troops. The conflagration extended itself on all sides, much beyond the original site of the encampment, and threw its lurid glare over the scene of slaughter and confusion of the day. Having spiked the guns in the fort, the boats returned with their crews to their respective ships.

Thus closed the eventful day of the capture of the famous Bogue forts, and the total dispersion of their unfortunate defenders. Had the Chinese been better

armed, and more experienced in the important science of gunnery, the capture of the forts would have cost us a much greater sacrifice of human life. On this occasion, so trifling was the latter, that at 3 p.m., when Captain Elliot issued his circular announcing the fall of the batteries of the Bocca Tigris to her Majesty's forces, he added, that "no loss on our side had been reported up to that hour." Sir Gordon Bremer had only subsequently to report, that "*five men* were slightly wounded, throughout the whole force." Much surprise, however, was created by this announcement, for the firing was for some time kept up with spirit from the forts. It was also recorded with the utmost minuteness, "that the main-topmast and fore-yard of the Blenheim were shot through, one gun was rendered unserviceable, and there were several shots in the hull; that the Melville had also a shot in one of her topmasts; that the Calliope was actually struck; and that other ships had just a rope cut here and there." No one could dispute the triumphant declaration of the commander-in-chief, that he was "convinced that almost any number of men the Chinese could collect would not be able to stand against the animated gallantry of his men for an instant."

It is to be regretted that the loss on their side, in killed and wounded, should have been so considerable. Thirteen hundred prisoners were taken, but were set at liberty soon afterwards; and altogether upwards of five hundred were killed and wounded during the day. Many of the Chinese officers boldly and nobly met their death, some even courted it; they dreaded their mas-

ter's wrath, and their own degradation more, than the loss of life at the hands of their country's foe. Among these, the most distinguished and most lamented was poor old Admiral Kwan, whose death excited much sympathy throughout the force; he fell by a bayonet wound in his breast, as he was meeting his enemy at the gate of Anunghoy, yielding up his brave spirit willingly to a soldier's death, when his life could only be preserved with the certainty of degradation. He was altogether a fine specimen of a gallant soldier, unwilling to yield when summoned to surrender, because to yield would imply treason. It recalls to mind the fate of the admiral at Chusan, who fell in the preceding year on board his own war-junk, even after he had admitted that he knew that resistance would be useless.

Kwan's body was claimed and recognised by his own family the following day, and was of course readily given up to them. A salute of minute-guns was fired to his honour from the Blenheim, as a brave but fallen enemy. It will be remembered that he was the same distinguished personage who lost his red button or ball during the engagement with the war-junks in Anson's Bay, and obtained it back again, at his own request, through Captain Elliot's intercession.

The resistance which the Chinese *might* have offered to our forces will be seen from the following account of the ordnance captured during the day. On the southern Anunghoy fort were 107 guns, of various calibre; one being a 68-pounder, one a 42, and a good many of 32, 24, and 18. Four of them were very large brass guns, made by the Portuguese in 1627, two of these being upwards

of eleven feet long, and ten inches and three-quarters in diameter of the bore; three of the iron ones were of English manufacture, and the remainder were heavy Chinese guns. On the northern Anunghoy fort were 40 guns, about half of them varying from 18 to 42-pounders. All of these were Chinese. At the two sand-bag batteries, erected to the eastward of the southern fort, were about thirty guns of small calibre; so that there were altogether on that side of the river one hundred and seventy-seven guns. Again, upon the little fortified island of North Wantung, were planted upwards of one hundred and sixty guns, of which, however, one third were very small, and of little service; and another third of them varied only from six to twelve pounders. The remainder were mostly very good, and some very heavy guns; one being a 68-pounder, and another a 42-pounder. Several of these bore a curious inscription, similar to some others subsequently taken on Lord Napier's fort near Canton.

On the fort and works, on the mainland, on the western side of the river, facing Wantung, were also mounted about forty guns. Thus the whole number captured in this day's operations amounted to three hundred and eighty pieces of cannon; to which, if we add eighty pieces more captured on the preceding day by the Nemesis and boats, under Captain Herbert, at the masked battery and stockades in the river, at the bottom of Anson's Bay, we shall find the whole number taken and destroyed in these two days alone, at the first resumption of hostilities, to have amounted to four hundred and sixty pieces.

Immediately after the British flag was planted triumphantly upon the forts of the Bogue, or at any rate before the close of the day, a notice was issued by Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, by which the blockade of the river of Canton was raised. British and foreign merchant-ships were now permitted to proceed as far as the Bogue, and were to be allowed to go further up the river, as soon as the obstructions to the navigation could be removed.

CHAPTER XVII.

General alarm caused by the fall of the Bogue forts—Removal of the great chain—The light squadron under Captain Herbert proceed up the river—Remarks on the latter—Whampoa—Junk Island—Channels of the river unknown—Policy of the Chinese—Nemesis leads up, giving the soundings—Approach to the first bar—Description of the fort and raft—English ship, the Cambridge, purchased by the Chinese—War junks—Nemesis begins the action at the first bar—Madagascar follows—Sulphur and the rest of the squadron arrive—Marines and seamen land under Captain Herbert—Fort taken—Attack upon the Cambridge—Lieutenant Watson drags a boat across the raft—And with Captain Hall and others boards the Cambridge—Description of the vessel—Ordered to be blown up—Captain Elliot's coolness and courage—Nemesis and boats proceed up to Junk river—Boats of the Wellesley and Sulphur—Fort captured—Sir Gordon Bremer joins from the Bogue—Howqua's folly—Prefect of Canton arrives—Truce for three days—Arrival of Sir Hugh Gough from India, 2nd of March—Force arrives from Chusan—Nemesis discovers a passage into the Broadway river—Captain Elliot's reward for a pilot—Truce expires—Panic at Canton—Captain Elliot's proclamation to the Chinese.

The great event which has now been described, the capture of the Bogue forts, though purchased at a very small sacrifice on the part of the victors, derived an immense importance from the greatness of the sacrifice in reference to the Chinese. Although the cautious discernment of a few men like Keshen might have appre-

ciated the strength of their enemy, and the comparative weakness of their own defences, the fact of the fall of the Bogue forts, which were considered by the Chinese throughout the empire, as well as by the government, to be impregnable, created a degree of alarm in the public mind without parallel since the Tartar conquest. Whatever reliance the authorities on the spot, and the overweening arrogance of a population accustomed only to the "submission" of foreigners, may have placed in the efficiency of other recent preparations of a different description higher up the river, these could never inspire confidence in the mass of the nation, or even in the government, to whom the nature of them could be little known.

The fall of the Bocca Tigris at once destroyed the charm of its supposed strength, and the loss of a feudal tower of old could hardly have spread more consternation among a host of vassals than did the fall of the Bogue forts among the Chinese nation. Totally inexperienced in the horrors of war, they retained a sort of hereditary pride in the Bogue, as their great bulwark against the inroads of the foreigner. The whole nation was at that time unprepared for war, and the government without any organized system of defence. Hence it is not difficult to perceive, that advantage might have been taken of their momentary state of alarm, to have urged them at once to the conclusion of some kind of peaceable settlement. The whole difficulty, however, at that time seems to have turned upon the question of the supply of tea. The Chinese saw clearly the anxiety which we showed to obtain the year's crop, and they

quickly boasted that "their tea and their rhubarb were as necessary to the foreigner as air itself." However, it was resolved at length that we should dictate the terms of peace at Canton, rather than at the Bogue, and accordingly the fleet prepared to proceed immediately up the river.

It will be remembered that a large chain cable had been thrown across the river, supported by rafts, between Anunghoy and a little islet close to South Wantung. It served them no good purpose whatever; and after the forts were taken possession of, nothing was easier than to remove this impediment to the navigation. The forts were next blown up, or damaged as much as they could be, though not without great labour and difficulty, arising from the heavy masses of stone and chunam of which they were constructed. Chinese powder was moreover used for the purpose, which, being less strong, though made as nearly as possible with the same proportions and of the same materials as our own, but with less care, added somewhat to the difficulty of the task. Several days were occupied by the engineers, sappers, and miners, assisted by seamen, in this laborious operation. It was, however, effectually done at last, scarcely one stone being left standing upon another.

On the morning following the action, the light squadron under Captain Herbert was ordered to proceed without delay up the river, in order to follow up the advantages already gained by the panic created by the capture of the Bogue. It consisted of the Calliope, Alligator, Herald, Sulphur, and Modeste, with the

Nemesis and Madagascar steamers. The principal objects and the general aspect of the river, as far as the second bar, (which is *below* the first one) have been already described, in connexion with the account of the grand conference between Keshen and Captain Elliot.

It will facilitate the understanding of future operations if we notice briefly, as we proceed, the principal objects worthy of observation, above the second bar, as far as the city of Canton itself, or even a little beyond it; for the operations extended even higher up. It should be remembered that by the first and second bar are merely meant sandbanks or flats, which impede the navigation of the river, of course contracting to a certain extent the channel for large ships. The second bar is a large shoal on the left side of the river, ascending (or geographically on its right bank) upwards of ten miles above Tiger Island. The Pagoda near which the conference was held stands near its upper extremity, on the same bank of the river. The first bar, however, lies about seven miles *higher up* on the opposite side of the river, and is not so extensive a flat as the lower one. It seems to have been formed by a deposit from the waters of one of the larger of those numerous rivers, or their branches, which empty themselves not only into the Canton river, but into all the principal rivers of China. Indeed, so numerous are these water-communications in every direction, that Keshen was perfectly correct in his observation that small vessels could proceed wherever they pleased, even up to Canton itself, without passing through the main river. Of course, the channel becomes both narrower

and more intricate in the neighbourhood of the bar; and, therefore, the Chinese showed considerable judgment in attempting to defend this position, which was in fact the most tenable one between the Bogue and Whampoa; from which latter place it was distant about four miles. The whole of the neighbouring country on both sides is almost one continued tract of swampy rice-ground; an additional proof of the endless water-communications.

Above the first bar, the river becomes more intricate in its navigation, having its channel broken and divided by several islands, and ceasing to be navigable for vessels even of moderate size beyond Whampoa, at least by any channel, which had been at that time discovered. But it will be presently seen that another passage was soon afterwards found. The anchorage at Whampoa had heretofore been the resort of all the foreign trading ships; and the surrounding country at all times presents a very picturesque and refreshing appearance. The Canton river would seem at various times to have been subject to a great rise in its waters, and thus, overflowing the country through which it passes, to have formed for itself new passages and lines of communication, which in some parts give it the appearance of dividing itself into numerous distinct rivers, at other times merely separating its waters for a very short distance, leaving a few picturesque islands between its branches, and speedily re-uniting its numerous streamlets again.

Whampoa is perhaps the largest of several islands, which lie in the main course of the river. It is about

four miles in length, and has a rather shallow channel on either side, navigable only for vessels of very small draught of water. On its north-eastern side, quite towards its lower end, lies the much smaller island called Junk Island, a long narrow strip of land, which with its shoals greatly impedes the navigation on that side. The channel between it and Whampoa is generally known by the name of Junk River.

Nearly all our merchant-ships used to anchor towards the bottom of Whampoa Island, in what has been called Whampoa Reach. But smaller ones could proceed up as far as the village of that name, beyond which the channel has become known by the name of Fiddler's Reach. Some, however, of our largest ships were formerly accustomed to take in their outward cargoes as low down as the "Second Bar," which occasioned an additional charge for lighters or cargo boats, and other inconveniences; but these now anchor in what has lately been called the Blenheim Reach, to the southward of Danes' Island. (See map and plan of Canton.) It is not a little remarkable that the Chinese authorities should have been able to keep foreigners so long in complete ignorance of some of the most important branches of their magnificent river; which for two centuries had witnessed the yearly increase of foreign commerce.

This no doubt was effected by the jealous orders which were issued to their pilots, who dared not follow any other than the old prescribed track. Yet it is also remarkable that, among so many ships which have annually visited the river, none should have been found whose commanders were led by curiosity or stimulated

by the tiresome sameness of an every day-life, during the dull season, to explore in open boats some of those large and tempting passages, the openings of which could be seen. Had not the war stimulated our exertions, or awakened our curiosity, we should without doubt have remained as ignorant as ever of the capabilities of the river, the extent of which was scarcely even surmised.[1]

No wonder that smuggling in every form has been long carried on to such a notorious extent by the Chinese at Whampoa, and in other parts of the river! The communications by water from one point to another, and with the interior of the country, are so numerous, and so interwoven with each other, that it would be impossible for any system of fiscal regulations which the Chinese could adopt to operate efficiently against the complicated machinery of evasion which could so easily be put in practice. This, among other reasons, may have contributed (always secondary, however, to their jealousy of foreigners,) to the strictness of their orders respecting the anchorage for our ships.

The light squadron proceeded up the river early on the morning of the 27th of February. It was not yet perfectly ascertained what obstacles were to be met with, although it was well known that the Chinese had been making extensive preparations to impede the advance of our forces. The wind was light throughout

[1] The newly-explored passages will be described in the order of their discovery. The Blenheim Reach, Browne's Passage, and the communications with the Broadway River, by which our light squadron afterwards reached the city of Canton, were as yet quite unknown to us.

the day, and the Sulphur, which was to have been the leading vessel, fell behind; the Nemesis, therefore, now took the lead, and proceeded with caution, giving the soundings by signal to the squadron, by means of flags fastened to the ends of long bamboos; by which contrivance the signals could be made with the greatest rapidity.

It is worthy of notice, that not a single ship of the squadron touched the ground on their passage up, although there was no native pilot on board any of the vessels. The great advantage of steamers drawing little water in leading a fleet up a river is undeniable; the certainty and perfect control of her movements, with the facility of changing her position, or of backing herself off, should she touch the ground, give her an immense advantage over every other description of vessel, for exploring the passage of a river.

It is a very pretty sight to watch a small steamer, giving the soundings as she proceeds, for the guidance of the ships behind her, both men-of-war and transports.

No new defences or hostile preparations on the part of the enemy were discovered, until the squadron had passed up a considerable distance beyond the second bar shoals. The Nemesis, being still ahead, it could now be made out distinctly with the telescope that a large ship, probably the Cambridge, (a late British ship, purchased by the Chinese) was at anchor near the first bar. This was immediately signalized to the squadron, which came to anchor about three miles from the position indicated. But the Nemesis, having previously taken the Plenipotentiary and Captain Herbert on board, proceeded

to reconnoitre, and to ascertain if a clear passage existed for the ships, as the Channel was supposed to have been partially obstructed by sunken junks.

On arriving sufficiently near to observe accurately the dispositions of the enemy, it was discovered that a considerable mud battery had been constructed on the left bank of the river (the right in ascending) above the first bar, near the Brunswick rock, below Whampoa; and that in order to obstruct the advance of the squadron beyond it, a very strong and broad raft, formed by large masses of timber secured well together, had been carried quite across the river, from one side to the other, precisely opposite the battery. Behind the raft lay the ship Cambridge, (previously known as the Chesapeake) with an admiral's flag at the main, moored head and stern in such a way that only her bow guns could be brought to bear for the defence of the raft. A number of war-junks were also under weigh not far from her. It was evident that the Chinese were quite prepared for resistance; and, had the Cambridge been anchored with springs on her cable, so as to enable them to bring her broadsides to bear alternately upon the raft, she might have fired with very great effect upon any of our ships as they approached. But the Chinese are not sufficiently acquainted with naval tactics to be able to make the best use even of the resources at their command.

The war-junks looked much more formidable in the distance, than when more nearly viewed, and there was much more probability of their making their escape after the first shots were fired, than that they would offer any serious opposition. The fort itself consisted

of a strong line of mud batteries along the river front, and was afterwards found to mount no less than forty-seven guns, which were principally intended to protect the raft. On the left flank of the battery were also mounted several guns, which bore directly upon the ships as they advanced up the river; and beyond this, further on the flank, was a small battery or field-work, mounting four or five guns, and connected with the former by an embankment, with a small ditch before it, upon which were planted a great number of ginjals, or wall pieces. These latter, from being more easily managed, and more accurately pointed, were often calculated to do more injury than their great guns.

Within the fort, or line of field-works, was a double Chinese encampment, containing about two thousand men. The rear of the position was protected by a deep creek twenty-five yards wide, and by paddy-fields, which were partially flooded. These impediments proved very injurious to the Chinese themselves, when they were driven out of the fort, and attempted to escape in the rear; and they suffered great loss there in consequence. It must not be forgotten that the Cambridge was heavily armed, although she proved of no service whatever to her new masters.

It was determined that no time should be lost in commencing the attack on this formidable line of defence, without even waiting for the arrival of the other ships of the squadron. However, Captain Herbert immediately went down in his own gig, to bring up the rest of the force under his orders, who were all, of course, equally anxious to take part in the attack. Captain

Elliot remained on board the Nemesis, and on this and all other occasions exposed himself with a true sailor's courage, during the hottest part of the engagement.

An excellent position was taken up by this vessel, not more than seven hundred yards from the lower angle of the fort, and, having anchored with springs on her cable, she commenced throwing shot, shell, and rockets single-handed into the fort and camp, and also at the Cambridge behind the raft. The guns were plied with great precision, principally under the direction of Mr. Crouch and Mr. Strangways, mates, R.N.

It was now little more than half-past one, and at two o'clock the Madagascar took up a position a little outside of the Nemesis, and commenced firing at the Cambridge with her twenty-four pounders. The Chinese kept up their fire from as many guns as they could bring to bear, and from numerous large ginjals, with considerable spirit. The Nemesis was struck several times, but fortunately only one man was wounded. One of the large shot passed completely through the outer casing of the steam-chest, from one side to the other, and was very near penetrating the steam-chest itself, which would have been one of the most serious accidents which could possibly befall her. The fire of the Chinese was so well sustained for some time, that repeated persuasion was tried, but in vain, to induce Captain Elliot, (who was standing as a spectator during the whole time upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes) to retire from such an exposed situation.

The Nemesis, having afterwards changed her position,

got aground, by running too close in-shore, in order to get as near as possible to the battery, and became so much exposed that, besides receiving several shot in her hull, she had her spars and rigging a good deal cut up.

At three o'clock the remainder of the squadron had arrived, the Sulphur being the first vessel which anchored and commenced firing; the other ships, however, came up in close succession, and fired their broadsides with great effect upon the batteries, the Cambridge, and the war-junks. The vessels engaged were the Calliope, Alligator, Herald, Modeste, and Sulphur, with the Nemesis and Madagascar steamers.

The Chinese, who had been already staggered by the smart fire of the steamers, were now completely bewildered by the additional attack of the other vessels. Their fire speedily slackened; and at about half-past three the boats of the squadron, with the marines under Lieutenant Stransham, and a party of seamen under their respective officers, put off to land and storm the works, the whole under the able direction of Captain Herbert. Those of the Nemesis, being nearest in-shore, had the advantage in landing first. All the best men on board, including some of her engineers, had volunteered for the occasion, and the whole force now formed together, and immediately dashed on to the gate leading into the fort close upon the shore. The Chinese attempted to defend it, but it was forced, although several of the Chinese officers fought with determined bravery, but little science. Their troops retreated in disorder, and the British flag was planted upon the fort by Captain Hall himself, who, as usual, headed his own party.

On this occasion one of the Chinese officers, with cool determination and a steady aim, deliberately discharged four *arrows* from his bow, at Captain Hall, fortunately without effect. Had they been musket-balls, however, he could scarcely have escaped. A marine instantly raised his musket at the less fortunate Chinese officer: the aim was unerring, and he fell. An attempt was first made to save him, for his coolness and courage; but in the heat of an engagement it is impossible to control every man, nor is it probable that the officer would have allowed himself to be taken prisoner.

About four o'clock the fort was completely in our possession, the Chinese having in vain attempted to stand against the hot fire of our musketry. They scrambled out at the rear of the fort, in the best way they could, and there suffered severe loss. In fact, they were caught as it were in a trap; for the deep creek and flooded paddy-fields in a great measure prevented their flight, so that about a hundred of them were killed or drowned at that spot, although every effort was made to save them. Some of them tried to escape across the river, jumping into the water merely with pieces of wood or small logs in their hands, which they picked up as chance threw them in their way, in the hope that these would be sufficient to support them in the water.

While the principal part of our force was thus driving out the Chinese on one side of the fort, another and smaller party, consisting of volunteers from the Nemesis and Calliope, were hastening on towards the gate at the opposite end, at the extremity of the river-front of the fort, the Chinese retreating before them. Close by

the gate stood a house, in which many of them took refuge; but, finding that there was no hope of escape, and that resistance would be useless, they immediately surrendered.

The great object now to be attained was to board the Cambridge, which was lying abreast of the fort. Unfortunately, no Chinese boat was to be found along the shore, and it was quite tantalizing for the moment to see a prize so near, without the means of reaching her.

At this juncture, Lieutenant Watson, first-lieutenant of the Calliope, gallantly succeeded in dragging one of his boats across the rafts, and launched her on the other side. He then took on board some of the little party on shore, who, seeing a body of Chinese crowding upon the deck of the Cambridge, had continued firing upon them. The boat instantly pulled off to the Cambridge, under the command of Lieutenant Watson, having with him Mr. Browne, the master of the Calliope, Captain Hall, and Mr. Galbraith, of the Nemesis; together with Mr. St. Leger, and about nine or ten men.

The Chinese were so alarmed at the sudden attack upon all their defences at once, and at the capture of the fort, as well as at the loss they had already sustained on board, that they offered little or no resistance; most of them jumped overboard on the starboard side, as the boarding-party climbed up on the port side. An officer of the Nemesis had the good luck to be first upon the quarter-deck.

Many of the Chinese must have been drowned in attempting to swim on shore, as there were no boats at

hand to pick them up, and their own redoubtable war-junks had already made the best of their way up the river, for fear of meeting the same fate as the Cambridge. A number of dead and wounded were found upon the decks, strong evidence of the well-directed shot of our ships. She mounted altogether thirty-four guns, of English manufacture; and it was rather surprising to see how well the Chinese had prepared for action, the guns being in perfect order, fire-buckets distributed about the decks, and every thing very clean and well-arranged.

It now became a question whether she was to be blown up or retained as a prize; but it was decided by Captain Herbert, that she should be set on fire and destroyed, principally with a view to strike terror into the Chinese, far and wide, by the explosion; and partly, also, because she was an old and useless ship. Preparations, therefore, were at once made by Lieutenant Watson, with this object. The wounded were all carried on shore, and every part of the ship was searched with great care, to ascertain that there were not any Chinamen remaining concealed. The few stores found on board were of very little value, and at five o'clock she was set on fire.

Slowly the flames spread throughout the ship, gradually bursting out of every port; little more than an hour sufficed for the fire to reach the magazine, and then she suddenly blew up, rending the atmosphere, and making every object around her tremble with the explosion. The sparks of fire and burning timbers were thrown far and wide in every direction; and, as it was by this time quite dark, they served to spread the alarming intelligence even among those who were scarcely near

enough to hear the explosion. Several houses took fire at a considerable distance from the spot, by the falling of the burning fragments which were carried through the air. The lower part of the hull of the Cambridge went down in deep water.

Thus ended the tragedy of the day; and, following as it did only twenty-four hours after the capture of the Bogue, and at the distance of only a few miles from Canton, we can easily imagine how completely it must have paralyzed for the moment all the little remaining spirit and energy of the Chinese. The city of Canton would probably have fallen an easy prey, had our successes been followed up by a bold dash at it. But the different approaches by which our forces could advance were then very imperfectly known, otherwise the smallness of our numbers would in any case have been amply compensated by the panic of the moment.

Throughout the operations of the day, Captain Elliot had distinguished himself by his personal courage, and landed with the party from the Nemesis to storm the fort. The loss of the Chinese is believed to have amounted to about three hundred killed and wounded. On our own side there were eight or nine men wounded and one killed. The magazine of the fort, and the guns, about sixty in number, were destroyed or rendered useless. Those of the Cambridge were blown up with the vessel.

The great raft across the river was not less than five hundred and fifty yards long, and is said to have cost the Chinese an immense sum of money, which was exacted from the Hong merchants. It was constructed

with great strength and solidity, for upon it they had rested their most confident hopes of successful resistance. It was cleared away, not without a good deal of labour, on the following day, and thus the passage was now opened for the advanced squadron to proceed up to Whampoa.

The Madagascar was sent down to the Bogue, to inform Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer of what had taken place, while the boats of the squadron, together with the Sulphur and Nemesis, pushed on to explore the river higher up; a reconnoissance being necessary before the ships could advance, owing to the uncertainty as to what impediments the Chinese might have formed to obstruct the navigation.

During the day, the Nemesis and boats got far enough up the branch on the eastern side of Whampoa, called Junk River, to catch a view of a little fort at the upper end of Whampoa, called Howqua's Folly.[1] It was further ascertained that a large body of Chinese were collecting in that direction, principally on the shore opposite the island, and that a double line of stakes, interlaced with bamboos, were driven across the upper part of the Junk River passage, where also several large junks appeared to have been sunk.

It turned out afterwards that, had the Nemesis proceeded only a hundred yards further on, she would have

[1] Why some of the forts should be called "Follies" does not appear evident. Such were the Dutch Folly, French Folly, Napier's Folly, and Howqua's Folly. The most *foolish* of them all was certainly the last, which ultimately fell down, owing to the foundation being weakened by the washing of the river.

been lucky enough to discover a masked battery, which it was reserved for the boats of the Wellesley, in company with the Sulphur, to find out on the following day, and to have the honour of capturing, under the command of Lieutenant Symonds.

In the mean time, Sir Gordon Bremer, in consequence of the important intelligence conveyed to him by the Madagascar, hastened up from the Bogue the same day, bringing with him the marines of the Wellesley, together with a hundred seamen, under Captain Maitland. The marines of the Blenheim, Melville, and Druid likewise followed, together with a number of boats well armed and manned. The Queen steamer also came up, bringing with her the Eagle transport, and another, the Sophia, being towed up by the Madagascar.

In the evening, Sir Gordon Bremer, with these seasonable reinforcements, joined the advanced squadron just as they had got up to Whampoa Reach. In consequence of the report made to the commodore of the reconnoissance which had been made during the day, he was induced to send up the Sulphur on the following morning, together with three of the boats of the Wellesley, to pursue the examination further. The boats of the Wellesley were commanded by Lieutenant Symonds, the first lieutenant of that ship. It is distinctly stated in Sir Gordon Bremer's *official despatch*, that the Sulphur was towed (going up) by the boats, and that, as soon as they had got within range of the masked battery which had been *suspected* but not discovered the evening before, the latter opened upon them; upon which Lieutenant Symonds with great decision and gallantry,

instantly cut the tow-rope, and dashed off, to storm the fort.

Such is the account published at the time. But in Captain Belcher's account of the affair (vol. ii. p. 158,) it is stated that this was a mistake, and that the Sulphur was not *towed* at all by the boats; it is left to be inferred, also, that Lieutenant Symonds did *not* cut the tow-rope, or else that, if he had done so, he would have been guilty of a breach of discipline.

I have no means of judging between these two accounts; but it was generally understood that Lieutenant Symonds's gallantry and energy were highly approved of by the commodore, whether in obedience of orders, or otherwise. Captain Belcher further states that he himself "jumped into his gig to *recall* the boats, or to prevent them doing too much, and that it was by Captain Elliot's wish, who was *left in charge during his absence.*" However, it still appears that the battery was carried by Lieutenant Symonds and his men, who soon drove the Chinese out of it, killing several. The official account further states that the Sulphur immediately anchored, and sent a few shot in amongst the thick underwood, in which the Chinese took shelter.

The battery was found to mount about twenty-three guns, which, together with the magazine, and all the *matériel*, were destroyed. The boats were repeatedly struck by grape-shot as they dashed on shore, but only one man was wounded mortally.

The Nemesis came up the Reach during the day, and managed to get within long gunshot of Howqua's Folly, about two miles higher up. In the evening, the Alli-

gator, Modeste, and Herald joined her, with two transports. The distance from Canton was now so short, that they must have been within sight of the city, although there was too little water by the direct passage to enable them to get up further. The channels by which they afterwards reached Canton had not as yet been discovered.

Howqua's Fort, or Folly, was built of stone, at the mouth of a little creek, at the extremity of Whampoa Island, and was surrounded by low paddy-fields, which occasioned its foundation to be so insecure that it afterwards fell down. It mounted nearly thirty guns of various calibre. The commandant seems to have had no particular taste for fighting, and thought a timely retreat would save him a vast deal of trouble. The fort was accordingly soon abandoned. A detachment of the 26th Cameronians occupied it, while a party of marines, under Captain Ellis, took possession of a large joss-house, or temple, opposite to it, on the other side of Junk River, where a strong body of the enemy had already been seen. They strengthened this position against any sudden attack.

Just above these two points, and consequently between Howqua's and Napier's Folly, which latter was situated upon the extremity of a low alluvial island, a little above Whampoa, a strong line of stakes or piles had been driven into the bed of the river. The next step, therefore, was to clear a passage through them, which was not to be very easily effected, owing to the rapidity of the stream, and the stiffness of the soil forming the river's bed.

Just at this juncture, the prefect of Canton or Kwang-Chow-Foo came alongside the Nemesis in his barge, attended by a linguist, and inquired for Captain Elliot, who happened not to be on board. Upon this the prefect affected to be in a great hurry to go away, saying that he could not wait for his return. The only reply which could be given to him was, that if he couldn't wait, he had better be off at once, without putting himself to any inconvenience. This was quite sufficient to induce this would-be great man to stay; and he continued, for some time, sitting in his boat, which was hanging on astern, evidently with forced composure, for he declined coming on board the steamer.

As soon as Captain Elliot returned, they went down to Whampoa Reach together, where a conference was held in due form. Captain Elliot certainly wished that hostilities should not be pushed further, if it could be avoided; and, accordingly, although it was perfectly well known and admitted that Keshen had been degraded from his office of commissioner, and that his successor had not yet arrived, a truce was agreed upon for three days with the Kwang-Chow-Foo. This was only a conciliating piece of leniency on the part of Captain Elliot, for, at that moment, there was really no responsible public officer who could undertake on the part of the Chinese to treat for or accept any terms whatever. At the same time, it was not denied that a general panic prevailed at Canton, and that vast numbers of people were leaving the city.

A lull now ensued, the probable result of which it was idle to guess, although it was generally expected that

hostilities would be resumed, and that no settlement whatever could be attempted, until Canton itself was completely at our mercy. This happened precisely at the moment of the arrival of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough from Madras, in H.M.S. Cruizer, to assume the command in chief of all the land-forces, by the orders of the governor-general of India. This important event happened on the 2nd March, 1841; and the arrival of a general of acknowledged bravery and distinction was a subject of general congratulation, and was looked upon as likely to lead to energetic and decisive steps.

It was also just about this time that the force which had been ordered down from Chusan arrived in the Canton River, namely the Pylades, Blonde, Conway, and Nimrod, together with the transports, conveying the troops. Our forces were, therefore, now concentrated; and, whatever may be the opinion generally entertained concerning the policy of so suddenly giving up Chusan long before the answer could have arrived from Pekin respecting Keshen's treaty, it happened, nevertheless, very much to our advantage, that the whole of a still small force was now united at one point, for the more effective prosecution of any enterprise which it might be advisable to undertake. Thus it occurred on many occasions during the war, that what appeared at first sight unfortunate, or, at all events, little likely to be attended with good results, turned out, in the end, to be most advantageous. The addition of these reinforcements from Chusan enabled us now to dictate terms to the Chinese authorities, which, without them, it would not have been so easy to exact.

Advantage was taken of the interval of the three days' truce (which was to expire on the 5th) to explore in the Nemesis, by the orders of Captain Herbert, one of those broad passages which were known to turn off to the westward, from Whampoa Reach. It was thought likely to lead, indirectly, even to Canton, and might therefore greatly facilitate the advance of our forces upon the city. It has already been stated, that it was a matter of surprise that these channels had never been properly explored by foreigners; though a passage of some sort or other was well known to exist on either side of French and Dane's Islands.

Captain Elliot himself was very anxious upon this subject, and offered a reward of one hundred dollars to any active fisherman or pilot who would point out the best channel. It was thought probable also that there were *several* channels, some perhaps large enough for our sloops, of which we were hitherto perfectly ignorant.

A pilot soon offered his services, in consideration of the handsome reward; although there appeared little doubt of the Nemesis being able to find a passage for herself (drawing so little water) without any pilot at all.

Soon after nine o'clock the Nemesis got under weigh, under the direction of Captain Herbert, having Captain Elliot and other officers on board. The object was not to make any minute survey of the passage; but merely to ascertain, by a cursory examination, the nature of the channel, and in what direction it was likely to terminate. Leaving Dane's and French Islands to the southward, they proceeded very cautiously to thread their way through

the shoals or mud-banks which were found in the passage. The country on both sides was low and swampy, but the channel was not found blocked up by sunken junks or stones, as it had been in other parts; probably because the Chinese hardly expected that any attempt would be made to pass through it, and partly because the river into which it led (the Broadway or Macao passage) had been already sufficiently fortified and obstructed. They passed a deserted battery and one or two small villages.

In the course of a couple of hours, during which time they had advanced slowly, with a depth of water from two to three fathoms, they came in sight of a circular stone fort, with a tower or pagoda upon it, apparently between two and three miles distant.

As the truce had not yet expired, it was not thought right to proceed further for the present; but they had already reached the point of junction with the Macao passage, or Broadway River, in the middle of which the fort (which was afterwards called the Macao Fort) was situated. Enough had been ascertained to serve as a guide for future operations; and the Nemesis, passing round a small island at the head of the passage, returned the same way she had come, and rejoined the squadron at Whampoa. It was through this passage that some of our vessels proceeded, a few days afterwards, to the attack of the fort, which has been noticed above.

On the following day, the 6th, the truce expired. But there was any thing but a peaceable disposition shown on the part of the Chinese authorities. They

issued strict orders that none of the natives should supply provisions to our ships. The boats which had hitherto come fearlessly alongside our vessels all on a sudden disappeared; and it was known at Canton that the native merchants were compelled to remove all the tea and silk out of the town. All this looked as if they were determined to come to no amicable settlement, and to prevent any kind of trade whatever being carried on with the foreigners. It is possible, also, that they fully expected that their city would be captured, and therefore encouraged the removal of the valuable property.

In consequence of these proceedings, a proclamation was addressed by Captain Elliot to the people of Canton, telling them that they were quite at our mercy, and that the city was only spared "in order to show how *tenderly* the good and peaceable inhabitants were considered" (by the English). But it was added, that, "if the authorities should continue to prevent the native merchants from buying and selling with the foreign merchants, then the whole trade of Canton was to be immediately stopped, and the city strictly blockaded." It then wound up by throwing "the whole responsibility of the present state of things upon the bad advisers of the emperor."

Preparations were now made for an immediate advance upon the city; and it was a favourite notion of Captain Elliot, that he could blockade all the approaches to Canton, and thus, by cutting off its immense *internal* commerce, upon which thousands de-

pend for their living, and nearly the whole population for its supplies of food, constrain the authorities to come to some reasonable terms, without any further necessity for a resort to arms.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Expiration of the truce—Napier's Fort—Rafts across the river—Preparations for its capture—Sulphur—And Nemesis—Chinese abandon the fort—Nemesis returns down Fiddler's Reach—New works of the Chinese — Scenery of the river — Operations again suspended — Sir Hugh Gough returns to Wantung—Keshen leaves Canton for Pekin in disgrace — Chinese hostility — Notices by Captain Elliot—Expedition up the Broadway or Inner Passage under Captain Scott—Nemesis with boats of Samarang and Atalanta—Entrance to the Inner Passage —Nemesis attacks Motow — Capture of Tei-yat-kok — War-junks in sight—Stone Fort, and river staked across (Houchung) — Field-work (Fei-shu-kok) — War-junks destroyed — Pass through large town (Heong Shan)—Apathy of the people — Masked battery — Sheong Chap — Narrowness of the channel — Kong-How Battery — River staked across — Mode of removing the piles — Assistance volunteered by the peasantry — Military station destroyed — Custom House and war-junk fired — Tam-chow — Military station at Tsenei destroyed with war-junks, &c.—Channel leading into the river at Second Bar—Nemesis joins the advanced squadron at Whampoa—Reflections—Remarks on the Ladrones—Fishermen turn smugglers and pirates.

The proclamation addressed by Captain Elliot to the people of Canton, last alluded to, was certainly intended to obviate, if possible, the further effusion of blood, and, by calming the public mind, to prevent the total cessation of trade. Moreover, he addressed a request at the same time to the naval and military commanders-in-chief, that they would make no further movements

towards the city until the disposition of the provincial officers could be put to the test. All the private information which could be gathered, however, tended to shew that further delay was likely to be useless, and even prejudicial.

As soon, therefore, as the day for the expiration of the truce had arrived, the Nemesis was ordered to convey Captain Elliot, with the commodore and the major-general, together with their respective suites, up to Howqua's Fort, having the broad pendant flying; there several other ships of the advanced squadron were already at anchor. The flag of truce was then lowered, and immediate dispositions were made for the capture of Napier's Fort, which was a little distance higher up.

A little more than half a mile above the upper end of Whampoa lies another small, low, alluvial island, which divides the river into two branches; and upon the lower extremity of it stood a semicircular fort, designed to command the passage on either side. This was called Napier's Fort, from having been built expressly to commemorate the discomfiture and ultimate death of that lamented nobleman; as if it were a source of pride to the Chinese, and of humiliation to his own countrymen. It mounted thirty-five guns.

A little below the fort a strong double line of piles had been driven into the bed of the river, completely across from one bank to the other. These were strengthened by sunken junks; and the passage was further blocked up by large stones thrown into the river, and other impediments. There were flanking batteries also on either side, recently built of mud, and not quite

finished; they were intended to mount thirty-five and forty-four guns.

These positions were capable of being stoutly defended, had they been fully armed and manned. Such, however, was not the case; and, as the commandant of the fort was inclined to exhibit the same compliant disposition as his gallant companion in arms had shewn at Howqua's Fort below, no resistance was offered; in fact, the garrison all ran away as soon as they had fired off their guns, having previously intimated their intention, and succeeded in making good their escape.

The Sulphur, accompanied by some of the boats of the squadron, managed to get up first, and took possession; followed by the Nemesis, with the commodore on board, and other vessels. A detachment of troops had been sent round by the general, with a view to take the flanking-batteries in the rear; but, as it now appeared that they were undefended, and as the march over swampy paddy-fields, and across numerous watercourses, was anything but agreeable, and not likely now to be useful, they returned to the joss-house below. In the afternoon, the Nemesis proceeded with the commodore and Captain Elliot down to Whampoa, passing along the western side of that island, by the channel which was known by the name of Fiddler's Reach; she had therefore gone completely *round* Whampoa Island in the course of the day; for she went up by the eastern or Junk river side, and came down by the western or Fiddler's Reach passage, proving the practicability of *both* channels for vessels of small draught of water.

It may be well here to notice that, at a subsequent period, after the fall of Canton, and when the Chinese were prevented by us from renewing or extending any of the defences of the river *below* Whampoa, they set about strengthening the positions above that island with all the resources they could employ. Before the close of the war, they not only rebuilt Napier's Fort in a much more substantial manner, but fortified all that line of the river, upon a plan much superior to any they had hitherto attempted.

Three other large stone forts have been built with a view to command the navigation of this part of the river; namely, one on each bank of the river opposite Napier's Fort, and one about half a mile lower down, at the point where the river is still strongly staked across. Viewed from the river, all these new forts look extremely formidable, being built entirely of stone, of considerable height, and calculated to mount little less than *two hundred guns*. The structure of all these new works is of a superior kind to any before seen in China; and it is generally supposed that they have been built at the suggestion or with the assistance of some European engineer. But, as usual in China, the rear of the forts is almost entirely unprotected, except by a stone wall; and, were it not that the advance of an enemy on that side would be greatly impeded by ditches and paddy-fields, which would oppose difficulties to the bringing up of artillery, they could be captured without any extraordinary effort.

Whatever may have been the policy of permitting the Chinese to rebuild any of their forts, or to strengthen

the approaches to Canton, as long as the war lasted, it is not doubted that it was looked upon as a sort of triumph by them; and, gradually as they saw these fine forts rising up unobstructed before their eyes, while the English were carrying on operations to the northward, at Amoy, Ningpo, and elsewhere, the people of Canton began to think that they could make the city impregnable for the future.

The forbearance which we had always shewn induced many of the inhabitants even to doubt at last whether their city had ever been at our mercy at all; and the insulting gestures and presumptuous bearing of many of the people employed in constructing these forts, as we happened to pass by them in an open boat after the peace, shewed that they looked forward with confidence to the protection of these new forts.

The scenery about Whampoa, and between that island and Canton, throughout all the channels, is very picturesque. The fine pagoda upon Whampoa, rising up, as it were, out of a little mount of wood, and another similar one on the mainland higher up,[1] surrounded by rich fields, and numerous winding streams, are striking objects. A few scattered farm-houses, with their large, curved, angular roofs, together with the village of Whampoa, and the numerous boats of all shapes and sizes plying upon the river, present a peculiar and thoroughly Chinese prospect.

The short pause in our operations, which now again

[1] It is remarkable that only one pagoda was seen in Pekin by Lord Macartney's embassy, and none whatever on the Peiho River, nor at any place between Tiensin and Pekin.

took place at the request of Captain Elliot, was precisely in accordance with the liberal assurances of the most *pacific* intentions on the part of the Chinese. Their acts, however, by no means agreed with their words. It was perfectly ascertained that a large number of fire-vessels were being prepared a few miles above Canton; that new defences were being constructed around the city, particularly upon the heights in its rear; and that people were removing their property from the town, and no valuable produce was allowed to be brought into it. Sir Gordon Bremer distinctly expressed his conviction that the measure of attacking Canton itself would have speedily to be resorted to; although he deplored the excesses to which it might give rise, owing to the abandonment of the city by the authorities, and the absence of control over the rabble of a community proverbially bad. The major-general now went down the river, and remained at Wantung with the commodore, where plans for the future operations were devised.

About this time, Keshen, whose functions had already ceased, left Canton for Pekin, in disgrace, in order to be put upon his trial for traitorous conduct, as his unfortunate defeats were now termed. The result was, that he was utterly degraded; all his property, which was enormously valuable, was confiscated, and he himself banished to the cold regions of Tartary.

On the 10th, despatches were sent up by the Nemesis from Captain Elliot (who in the mean time had gone to Macao) to the commodore at the Bogue, in consequence of the Chinese authorities having issued chops or pass-

ports for all ships, *except British*, to proceed up the river to trade, as far as Whampoa. This act of open defiance could not be overlooked, and Captain Elliot himself seems to have been struck with the hostile temper which this proceeding evinced. A notice was, in consequence, issued to the effect, " that, as the port of Canton, from its entrance to its extremity, was in the military occupation of her Majesty's arms, no ships whatever would be permitted to enter the river, except under the authority of the commander-in-chief; and, moreover, that a close embargo would be laid on the city and trade of Canton, until the whole of their foreign trade should be placed upon a perfectly equal footing, without any exception whatever."

So far, then, it was very evident that our previous forbearance, when actually in sight of Canton, had not been followed by any good result. In point of fact, it had not been understood, and was certainly looked upon rather as an evidence of conscious weakness on our part, than as what it actually was — an instance of forbearance, resulting from conscious strength.

It was, probably, the necessity which he now felt of striking some blow calculated to make an immediate impression upon the Chinese, which induced Captain Elliot to direct his attention to one of the most boldly-conceived and successfully-executed exploits which have to be recorded during this campaign. It appears to have struck him almost on a sudden; and, finding that Captain Scott, of the Samarang, who was then senior officer at Macao, and also Captain Hall, of the Nemesis, entirely concurred with him in his views, it was

resolved that not a moment should be lost. Above all, it was kept perfectly secret; so that no rumour of any new project could reach any of the inhabitants of Macao, either Portuguese or Chinese. The undertaking to which I allude became afterwards generally known, as the forcing of the Broadway, or Inner, or Macao Passage, (for it has obtained all these names) by the Nemesis, accompanied by three boats, viz., two belonging to the Samarang, and one to the Atalanta steamer. This passage leads direct from Macao to Canton, but had been hitherto frequented only by native boats; indeed, no others were permitted to pass through it. This was one of those numerous opportunities in which the Nemesis so clearly demonstrated the great advantage to be derived from the employment of shallow iron steamers, in hostile operations along the course of unexplored rivers.

The exploit was spoken of in very handsome terms, both by the plenipotentiary and the commodore in their public despatches, and attracted the notice of every one connected with the service. Too much credit cannot be given to Captain Scott, Captain Hall, and the other officers and men, whose united zeal and hearty co-operation produced results so important and decisive.

It must here be remarked that this intricate passage was one never before traversed by any European vessel or boat, and believed by the Chinese themselves to be inaccessible to foreigners, both owing to the shallowness and intricacy of its channels, and to the number and strength of the artificial defences erected on its banks.

It can, perhaps, be scarcely called a distinct river, but may be rather considered as in reality one of those almost innumerable channels, which present themselves to view on every side along the whole sea-board of China; dividing and then reuniting, sometimes receiving large branches, sometimes throwing them off, here communicating with other rivers, and there even traversing across them. It is difficult to ascertain, with regard to many of them, whether they are distinct rivers, or branches, or mere watercourses, leading from one to the other. In short, with respect more particularly to the country about Canton, the whole of it appears to be subdivided, again and again, by these ever-multiplying channels, which form a sort of fluid network, embracing the soil it nourishes and *reproduces*. Many of these are only known, among the Chinese themselves, by those who depend on them for subsistence; and who, rarely quitting them, make their boat their floating home.

On leaving the roads of Macao, and proceeding nearly due west, after passing the town and the entrance to the Inner Harbour beyond it, you come into a straight but rather shallow channel, which continues in the same direction along the southern shore of the island called Twee-Lien-Shan.[1] Having reached its western extremity, which is about four miles from Macao, you very shortly enter the mouth of a river, which is broad but shallow and becomes narrower as you proceed up towards the north-west, by the gradual contraction of its shores. This is the entrance to the Broadway, or Inner

[1] See map.

Passage. Several openings were soon perceived on both sides, probably the mouths of smaller rivers or creeks, entering the larger channel. The proper opening of the Inner Passage begins about six miles from the western point of Twee-Lien-Shan Island, but the narrow part of it is about four miles further on.

Let us now imagine ourselves just embarked on board the Nemesis in Macao roads, at three o'clock in the morning (rather an unpleasant hour, even in that climate) on the 13th of March, all the arrangements having been completed the day before. Already, Captain Elliot and suite are on board; and Captain Scott of the Samarang, who commands the force, is standing on the quarter-deck, with the other officers, impatient to start, while the boats of the Samarang and that of the Atalanta are being made fast astern. And we must also not omit to record that Mr. Johnston, the deputy superintendent of trade, and also Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom, the indefatigable interpreters and secretaries,[1] the value of whose services throughout the war it is impossible too highly to appreciate, were also on board during this expedition.

Having quitted the town of Macao with the utmost

[1] Not only on this, but on many other occasions, these gentlemen were personally exposed to the fire of the enemy, little less than either soldiers or sailors. They showed the utmost coolness and personal courage; and it is but justice to them to remark that their presence was always of the greatest value in every operation, even though unarmed, and, as non-belligerents, unnoticed. Their knowledge of the language and their good judgment frequently enlisted in our favour the people of the country, who might have offered great annoyance, and they were often able to mitigate the hardships even of war itself.

quietness, leaving all the world asleep, and unconscious of any movement, they soon fell in with a large junk at anchor, which was fortunately able to furnish a pilot, one of her crew being taken out, not without reluctance, for that purpose. At first the poor fellow was very much frightened, but, finding that he was well treated, well fed, and good pay promised, he soon became reconciled to his position, and behaved well throughout. During the day he seemed very little concerned about the firing either of the steamer or of his own countrymen, and piloted the vessel, as far as his knowledge extended, up the river very accurately.

The progress was at first slow, owing to the shallowness of the water, which often did not much exceed *five* feet (little enough for a vessel of more than six hundred tons burden); indeed, the pilot himself maintained that it would be impossible for the vessel to proceed: and it may be noticed that the soundings at the entrance were not found so deep as laid down in Horsburgh's chart, in which they are partially given. However, on she went, nothing daunted either by mud, sand, or water, or even by the shallowness of the river.

Day had now long dawned; and, at eight o'clock, she came in sight of a fort on the starboard-hand, which proved to be situated on a small promontory on the left bank of the river. It is called Motow, and is situated some distance below a point where the main channel separates into two branches. Half an hour afterwards, the Nemesis was near enough to take up a position to the southward of the fort, so that she could fire directly

mer is without any of the enemy's guns being able to bear upon her: in fact, she enfiladed the position. Upon this the fort was abandoned by the Chinese, whose flight was accelerated by their seeing that the boats were putting off to attack them. The place was immediately taken possession of, the buildings of every description set on fire, and the guns, thirteen in number, rendered unserviceable. The boat's crews were again on board the Nemesis in about an hour, and she pursued her course without loss of time.

About four miles further on, just above where the river becomes more contracted by its division, a second fort was discovered, also situated on the left bank. The position was well chosen, upon a rising ground, at some distance from the river-side, but commanding the whole bend or reach of the river in front of it. It was built of mud, but protected nearly all round by flooded paddy-grounds.

On this occasion, the Chinese were the first to open their fire upon the Nemesis, as she rounded an intervening point of land, and entered the reach above mentioned. They kept up their fire, at first, very smartly, having probably trained all their guns to bear upon the particular point. It was most effectually returned by the steamer, with shot, shell, and rockets, which were thrown (as officially reported by Captain Hall himself) with remarkable accuracy. The boats again put off to land, under cover of the rising bank on the river-side, with the intention of taking the position in flank; but the Chinese at once abandoned their works, though, if they had resisted the advance,

quietness, leaving all the world asleep, and unconscious of any movement, they soon fell in with a large junk at anchor, which was fortunately able to furnish a pilot, one of her crew being taken out, not without reluctance, for that purpose. At first the poor fellow was very much frightened, but, finding that he was well treated, well fed, and good pay promised, he soon became reconciled to his position, and behaved well throughout. During the day he seemed very little concerned about the firing either of the steamer or of his own countrymen, and piloted the vessel, as far as his knowledge extended, up the river very accurately.

The progress was at first slow, owing to the shallowness of the water, which often did not much exceed *five* feet (little enough for a vessel of more than six hundred tons burden); indeed, the pilot himself maintained that it would be impossible for the vessel to proceed: and it may be noticed that the soundings at the entrance were not found so deep as laid down in Horsburgh's chart, in which they are partially given. However, on she went, nothing daunted either by mud, sand, or water, or even by the shallowness of the river.

Day had now long dawned; and, at eight o'clock, she came in sight of a fort on the starboard-hand, which proved to be situated on a small promontory on the left bank of the river. It is called Motow, and is situated some distance below a point where the main channel separates into two branches. Half an hour afterwards, the Nemesis was near enough to take up a position to the southward of the fort, so that she could fire directly

into it without any of the enemy's guns being able to bear upon her; in fact, she enfiladed the position. Upon this the fort was abandoned by the Chinese, whose flight was accelerated by their seeing that the boats were putting off to attack them. The place was immediately taken possession of, the buildings of every description set on fire, and the guns, thirteen in number, rendered unserviceable. The boat's crews were again on board the Nemesis in about an hour, and she pursued her course without loss of time.

About four miles further on, just above where the river becomes more contracted by its division, a second fort was discovered, also situated on the left bank. The position was well chosen, upon a rising ground, at some distance from the river-side, but commanding the whole bend or reach of the river in front of it. It was built of mud, but protected nearly all round by flooded paddy-grounds.

On this occasion, the Chinese were the first to open their fire upon the Nemesis, as she rounded an intervening point of land, and entered the reach above mentioned. They kept up their fire, at first, very smartly, having probably trained all their guns to bear upon one particular point. It was most effectually returned by the steamer, with shot, shell, and rockets, which were thrown (as officially reported by Captain Scott himself) with remarkable accuracy. The boats again put off to land, under cover of the rising bank on the river-side, with the intention of taking the position in flank; but the Chinese at once abandoned their works; though, if they had resisted the advance,

they might have inflicted severe loss, as the party could only approach the fort along a narrow causeway, in single file. The works were immediately taken possession of, and were found to mount either twelve or fourteen guns, which were of course destroyed, as were also the sheds and buildings within the fort, which, however, were of very recent construction, and of a temporary nature.

Before returning to the steamer, the boats pulled across to the opposite side of the river, where a large Chop-house and military depôt were likewise destroyed. The name of the fort, or field-work, above described was Tei-yat-kok.[1] At this point, several other Chinamen were taken on board as pilots, for the better navigation of the channel through which they had now to proceed.

They had ascended a very little way further up the river, when, to the joy of every one, they espied nine war-junks, under weigh, a considerable distance ahead, and chace was given at full speed, in spite of all obstacles of the navigation. The interest and excitement momentarily increased, as, every mile they advanced, served

[1] See the map of the Canton River, in which the chart of the Broadway or Macao Passage is reduced from a very large Chinese manuscript, kindly lent by Captain Scott, who states that he found it *approximatively* correct. Indeed, it was the best guide to the Nemesis (except the lead) as she proceeded, for the native pilots were not found to be of much use. The distances *from place to place*, however, cannot be depended on as exact; but, in the original manuscript, every fort and military station was marked in its proper position. The names given in Captain Scott's despatch are spelt somewhat differently from what they appear on the original chart, but, upon the whole, they are sufficiently correct.

Houchung in the Broadway River

been taken, and by the approach of the boats, which were now making their way through the stakes to attack them, that seven out of the nine were run ashore by their crews,—when they immediately jumped overboard and escaped, leaving their vessels entirely at our mercy.

Just as the boats came up to take possession, a field-work on the left bank, within little more than a hundred yards of the headmost junk, opened fire on them unexpectedly with grape-shot. As the junks were already abandoned, a strong party at once landed, under Lieutenant Bower, and carried the field-work, by passing round to its rear, which, as usual with the Chinese, was left almost unprotected. This place, which was called Fie-shu-kok, was set on fire and destroyed, together with the seven guns which were mounted on it. The war-junks were likewise set on fire, and blew up very shortly after. But the two which had not been run ashore contrived to make good their escape.

During the time that these operations were being effected, Captain Hall had dexterously succeeded in getting his steamer through the stakes, by the same opening through which the junks had passed, and which barely afforded room for her paddle-boxes. The flood-tide was now running up with great rapidity, and she was therefore dropped through the passage, being steadied by kedges and hawsers, two of which had to be cut away, and left behind.

She now joined the boats opposite Fie-shu-kok; and, as soon as the destruction of the junks and works had been completed, it was resolved to push on further up

the river, in the hope of overtaking the two junks which had got away. Altogether, twenty-one guns had been destroyed in these forts, and twenty-eight more in the junks. But the *impression* made through all the neighbouring country, by these active measures, was far more important than the mere destruction of a certain number of guns.

At half-past three they arrived at the large trading-town of Heong-Shan, about five or six miles further up. The river flows straight through the middle of it, so that they found themselves unexpectedly in the centre of an important inland town, in which, if it had been their object, it was easily within their power to inflict severe injury upon a dense and apparently harmless population. But it has been mentioned before, that much suffering was spared, by the assistance of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom. Captain Elliot also exerted himself very much to prevent the peasantry or mere lookers-on from being implicated; and he sometimes allowed even the armed soldiers to escape, rather than run the risk of injuring the innocent. The object was to confine hostilities, as much as possible, to the servants and property of the Chinese government, leaving the people uninjured.

The good effect of this policy was soon very evident. The inhabitants of this populous town appeared to regard with very little apprehension the approach of the steamer, and seemed more moved by curiosity and astonishment at her structure and locomotive power, than alarmed by any dread of her hostile intentions. The people crowded upon the banks of the river; the

house-tops and the surrounding hills were covered with curious gazers, wondering what strange event would happen next. Hundreds of trading junks and boats of various kinds, most of them the sole home of their owners, were crowded together on both sides of the river, throughout the town, and even above and below it. The river was narrow, and so densely were the boats packed, that the only passage left was directly in the centre of the stream, where, as if by mutual consent, a clear way had been left, only just broad enough to allow the steamer to pass; requiring some dexterity to avoid running foul of the junks on either side.

It is very curious that so large a body of people should have looked on with so little apparent fear, particularly as they could well perceive that the steamer was in chase of two war-junks, which had preceded her, followed by several mandarin-boats, in which the mandarins or authorities of the town were endeavouring to make their escape, in the greatest consternation. One of the war-junks, finding that it was impossible to keep ahead of the steamer, which was rapidly gaining on her, was run ashore, some distance above the town, by her crew, who immediately jumped overboard, and had only just time to escape before the steamer came up. She was at once boarded, and then set fire to and blown up. She carried four guns. It was now observed that Chinese soldiers were gathering thickly upon the neighbouring hills, as if meditating a descent, but a shot or two thrown in amongst them served to put them to flight.

Just at this moment a masked battery, concealed by some trees, not more than a couple of hundred yards ahead, imprudently betrayed itself by opening its fire on the steamer; nor was this the only instance in which small forts or field-works would have been passed unseen and uninjured, had they not expended useless powder in making a smoke, which at once betrayed them. The fire was instantly returned, and served to cover the boats, which put off with the marines of the Samarang to storm the works. Eight guns were found in it, which, together with the buildings and magazine, were of course destroyed. This place was called Sheongchap, and was situated just below a point where the river divides, or rather where two branches unite.

It being now past six, p.m., it was thought proper to anchor for the night, after a very severe day's work for all hands since three in the morning. The Nemesis, having proceeded a little distance above Sheongchap, found herself getting into very shallow water, and therefore anchored for the night. The channel was so narrow that it was impossible to turn the vessel round, scarcely even by forcing her bows hard aground over the banks. She was anchored head and stern, and guard-boats were placed round her all night, for fear of any attempt at surprise.

On the following morning, the 14th, the Nemesis again pursued her course up what appeared to be the principal branch, but which became so shallow that it was doubtful how far she would be able to proceed; she had seldom more than six feet water, and in many places only five, so that she was frequently forced through

the mud itself. There was not room to turn her fairly round, and the only mode in which she could be managed was by sometimes driving her bows as far as possible into the river's bank, sometimes her stern; while at other times it was hard to say whether she was proceeding over a flooded paddy-field, or in the channel of a watercourse. This gave occasion to a facetious remark, in which sailors sometimes delight, that this "would be a new way of going overland to England."

After proceeding only three or four miles, a village came in sight, with a fort adjoining, and rather above it. This was afterwards found to be named Kong-How. Nearly opposite the fort the river was again found to be staked across, much more strongly than it was at Houchong; and it was in a similar manner commanded by the guns of the fort. The Nemesis, as soon as she came within good range, opened her fire warmly upon the fort, which the Chinese returned. The boats pushed off as usual; but the moment the marines and a party of seamen began to land, the Chinese abandoned the fort in confusion.

On the upper side of the fort, sand-bags were found recently piled up against the walls, as if the Chinese had expected the attack to be made on that side; which shows that they anticipated that an attempt would be made to explore these passages, but that they rather looked for it from the side of Tycocktow than from Macao. The works, with their nine guns and magazine, were afterwards all blown up at once.

The principal obstacle now remaining to be got rid of was one more troublesome than all the forts together,

or any impediment yet met with. The line of piles which had been driven in across the river was not less than twenty feet wide, or rather it was a double line, filled up between the two with large sunken junks laden with stones. Great labour and perseverance were required to get up sufficient of these piles to clear a passage broad enough for the steamer to pass. This was only accomplished after four hours' hard work, in which, oddly enough, the Chinese peasantry bore an active part, voluntarily coming forward to assist, and even venturing to come on board the steamer itself. This was undoubtedly one of the good results of not having inflicted any injury upon the country people or inhabitants of the villages through which the little expedition had passed.

Inquiry has often been made what method was adopted in order to open a passage through obstacles such as I have described. It may, therefore, be here remarked that several modes were at different times resorted to, according to circumstances. Where the stakes were not driven in very firmly, it was easy, by fastening a hawser round the top of them, and making it fast to the steamer, to back her out, and pull them one by one away; but as this was a tedious process, a hawser was sometimes fastened round ten or a dozen of them in a line across the river, and carried from one to the other, but fastened to each of them in such a way as to leave about a few fathoms of slack rope between each pair. The end of the hawser was made fast to the steamer with a tolerable length of line out, and she was then backed at full speed. The momentum thus acquired was soon sufficient to drag the first pile away with a

jerk; and this one being fastened already to the next, as before described, with a fathom or two of slack line between them, the force of the steamer, which still continued to back astern, was sufficient to jerk that one away also; and thus proceeding at full speed backwards, the steamer pulled them all away one after the other, still remaining fastened together by the hawser; but the power of the jerk was only applied to one at a time.

In cases where the stakes were driven in to some depth, or where the bed of the river was tenacious, it was necessary to pull them fairly out perpendicularly, by luff-tackle led up to the mast-head. The piles were gradually loosened a little, by being pulled to and fro; for which purpose chain-slings were passed round the head of the pile, and a hawser being then made fast, was led aft along the deck; thus, by being pulled in various directions, sometimes one way, and sometimes another, the pile was at length drawn fairly out, something like drawing a tooth. The bows of the steamer were run nearly close up to the piles during this operation, and she was steadied by a hawser run out from the quarter to the banks of the river.

A great point seems to lie in the management of the steamer itself, so as to be able to apply the power in the proper direction, and at the right moment. This is the more important, as the stream is generally pouring through or over the stakes with the greater impetuosity, owing to the obstruction it meets with from the obstacles in its way. This also constitutes the difficulty of getting through the opening, even after it is once made. It is often necessary to lay out a kedge on each bow to

steady the vessel, as she works her way through, and to prevent her from falling broadside on to the stream.

Generally on these occasions the water was shallow, so that it was necessary to raise both keels of the vessel, and also the drop-rudder, and therefore it was sometimes extremely difficult to steer her under those circumstances, and the use of the kedges became the more necessary. In the present instance a space of twenty-two feet was opened, and the steamer was got through, with considerable care and some difficulty.

A little above this obstruction a large chop-house or mandarin-station came into view, with a mandarin-barge lying just off it. A shot fired into the principal building soon drove out all the soldiers who had taken refuge in it;—probably the mandarin's guard. The boats were now sent ashore, and soon destroyed the whole of the buildings, together with the mandarin-boat, with a gun and two ginjals. It was not possible for the steamer to tow any of the boats or junks away with her, because she was continually touching the ground, and frequently forcing herself through the mud, so that it would have been impossible to have got on at all if she had been impeded by any other encumbrance; they were therefore all destroyed.

As soon as the boats had all returned from their service on shore, the steamer pushed on again, and the water began to deepen; so that at half-past six she was able to come to anchor for the night in five fathoms water. From this point the high rock of Lankeet, in the Canton river, could be easily recognized, bearing about due east, and not very far distant.

On the morning of the 15th, having proceeded about three miles further on, a large village, called Tamchow, came into view, on the left bank of the river. Here a party of matchlock-men were observed crouching along the banks of the river, endeavouring to pass unnoticed. A few rounds of musketry at once dispersed them.

Again the steamer pursued her course, without finding any thing particularly worthy of notice for a couple of hours, when she came to a large town on the left bank of the river (it is remarkable that nearly all their towns and villages were on that side), which was called Tsenei, just above a place called Kwan, close to which two or three dismantled and abandoned forts had been passed. Here the chop or custom-house, which was also a sort of military station, by the water-side, was set on fire and destroyed. A large war-junk, also (probably the one which had before escaped), which mounted seven guns, was captured and blown up, the crew having abandoned it on the approach of the "devil-ship."

Above this point the channel again became very narrow and shallow. The Chinese pilots now declared that it would be impossible for the steamer to proceed much higher up, as the passage was only deep enough for boats. Having nearly reached a small place, called Weichung, the Nemesis was at length compelled to desist from the attempt to pursue her course further in that direction, particularly as it was now ebb-tide. Several other channels could be seen on both sides, and one in particular appeared to lead to the eastward, towards the main branch of the Canton river, below

Whampoa. Accordingly, it was resolved to follow this latter branch, with a view to join the advanced squadron, if possible.

In this short passage a considerable walled town was passed, at the distance of less than half a mile, with which the communication was kept up by means of a canal, which could be seen to enter the town under a large arch, or bridge. Upon this a great number of people were collected, to watch the progress of the steamer. The country around it was extremely well cultivated, and the peasants were busy at their agricultural operations, without any apparent fear. Shortly afterwards the Nemesis found herself entering the main river, at a very short distance below the pagoda at the Second Bar, and proceeded without delay to join the light squadron which was at anchor in Whampoa Reach, and received the congratulations of all parties. Captain Elliot and suite then left the Nemesis, and proceeded on board Captain Herbert's ship, the Calliope.

Thus ended this singular and highly successful expedition of three days, up the Broadway passage, during which so much had been done towards disabling and annoying the enemy by the steamer, assisted by the boats before mentioned, and the marines of the Samarang, all under the direction of Captain Scott. This exploit would have gratified most men, even as the work of a single vessel, for a whole campaign. It need hardly be added, that Captain Scott was the first to acknowledge and to bring to public notice the value of the services of the Nemesis on this occasion; and Captain Elliot, who was an eye-witness of all

these operations, bore similar testimony to their importance. They were also mentioned in flattering terms by the commodore, in his public despatch. It must not be omitted that all the officers of the vessel nobly and energetically bore their share in the labours and dangers of the undertaking; and those who belonged to the boats of the Samarang and the Atalanta were equally conspicuous, and had opportunities of distinguishing themselves on shore.[1]

The result of this expedition was highly beneficial, and afforded more insight into the nature of the country, and gave a more correct estimate of the resources of the Chinese, than could have been expected within so short a distance from Macao. Indeed, considering how long that place had been the resort of Europeans, it was astonishing how little was known of its neighbourhood. The country on both sides of the passage was found to be fertile and highly cultivated; while, in the neighbourhood of the villages, the banks of the river were laid out in neatly cultivated gardens. Everywhere there prevailed an air of comfort and of thriving industry.

The peaceable and, one may almost say, the apathetic bearing of the people generally, and their refraining from all hostile demonstrations, are worthy of notice; particularly when we remember that they must not only

[1] It should be here mentioned that Mr. Johnston, the assistant-superintendent of trade, was also on board the Nemesis during this expedition: also that Captain Larkins, who formerly commanded one of the East-India Company's vessels, and had been long acquainted with the Chinese character, volunteered his valuable services upon the occasion.

have heard of, but even perhaps been witnesses to, the engagements at the Bogue, at Chuenpee, at the First Bar, and elsewhere. Much, perhaps, may be attributed to the valuable presence of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom, who, from their accurate knowledge of the character of the people, knew well how to allay their fears, and conciliate even their good offices. These gentlemen were nevertheless not always able to avoid exposure to danger, in landing with the boats, when the forts were taken possession of, and in holding parleys with the people. The whole loss on our side, during this adventurous trip, was fortunately only three men wounded. Altogether, one hundred and fifteen guns were destroyed, together with nine war-junks; and several armed mandarin-boats, six batteries, and three government chop-houses or military stations, together with barracks and magazines, were also taken and set on fire.

One simple but very natural question will now suggest itself. We have seen that, even in channels unfrequented by Europeans, and only partially known to exist, the Chinese were found to be well provided with means of defence, not of recent construction only, but many of them evidently of long standing. But the Chinese government had not been at war with neighbouring nations, nor could they have erected these internal defences against any possible future outbreak of the foreigners who traded with Canton. The latter had usually been very "respectfully obedient;" and, even if they had been disposed at an earlier period to come to blows with the Chinese, their measures would have been directed almost exclusively against the Bogue

forts, which protected the main channel of the Canton river, leading to Whampoa. This Inner or Broadway Passage was, at all events, too shallow and intricate to admit of the passage of large ships; and indeed we have seen that even the Nemesis had failed in making her way through the upper portion of it.

Against whom then, we may ask, or for what purpose, were the numerous forts erected? The government might have thought proper to occupy the principal strong positions, with a view to strengthen themselves against any outbreak or insubordination of *their own people;* and disturbances of this kind have not been unfrequent, even in despotic and obedient China. But it is far more probable that these defences of their "inner waters" were designed to keep in check the dangerous incursions of pirates, or "Water Braves," who have always infested the coast of China, and have been great enemies to its commerce, and a source of uneasiness to its government. In a country in which so large a portion of the population make their permanent home upon the waters, some upon the innumerable canals and rivers which intersect it in all directions, others along the extensive sea-coast and among its numerous islands, it is not surprising that pirates, or, as the Portuguese call them, Ladrones, should at all times abound.

The means of subsistence being frequently precarious among so populous a nation, and at no time to be acquired without careful industry, and, at the same time, the real weakness of the government, in spite of its bombastic edicts, have combined to make the temptation to

piracy almost irresistible. In not a few instances the government have been compelled even to conciliate or buy over the depredators; and, in spite of all their efforts to suppress them, the Ladrones have never ceased to infest the coast to a greater or less extent. The temptations are always numerous, and the desperate characters who gain their living by smuggling are, at all times, as likely to gain it by *robbing*, whenever the opportunity may appear more favourable. Hence, we can scarcely wonder that the pirates had long become bold, enterprising, well-organized, and successful in their efforts, directed, however, almost exclusively against their own countrymen, along the whole coast.

Such as *were* the banditti of Italy and Spain not long ago, or the klephts of Greece, or the robbers of Hounslow Heath in times past — such have been for centuries the pirates or ladrones of China. They are, in fact, the highwaymen of the "Celestial Empire;" for their rivers and water-communications are essentially their highways.

Under these circumstances, we are led to the conclusion, that nearly all these defences in the Broadway Passage had been constructed more with a view to the defence of the river against the Chinese themselves, than under any apprehension that the foreigners would ever force their way into it. This supposition is further borne out by the fact that, even during the short expedition of the Nemesis, bands of robbers, and boats filled with men of a very suspicious character, were distinctly seen at a distance, trying to take advantage of every opportunity of plundering their countrymen *while*

the panic lasted. Indeed, it may with much truth be said, that on this, as on many other occasions, the Chinese suffered a great deal more from the excesses and misdeeds of their own people, than they did from any hardships they encountered at the hands of their foreign enemies during the war. Many ludicrous, no less than unfortunate, scenes have been witnessed, of Chinese plundering parties falling in each other's way accidentally, and then fighting for each other's booty, while, just at the critical moment, a third party would perhaps step in, and carry off the greater part of what the others had been already fighting about; and perhaps even these would, in their turn, be stripped by another fresh party, before they could get fairly off with their prize.

In reality, the war itself served to disorganize the Chinese police, and to diminish the authority of the local officers. Smuggling, robbery, and multiplied outrages, were never more prevalent throughout all the maritime districts than during the continuance of hostilities.

In the neighbourhood of the Canton River, these violent proceedings arrived at length at such a height, that the fishermen, in many instances, combined together for mutual defence, and provided themselves with arms. But even these men, although, doubtless, most of them started with the good intention of capturing the pirates, or, at all events, of protecting their own property, were tempted at last to become, in many instances, almost as fraudulent as the regular Ladrones. Some were bold enough even to attack the foreigners,

... the promised rewards of their
...bers, having now found out their
...ength, became salt-smugglers in-
... while others traded, smuggled, or
... escape detection, just as it might
... for the moment. They possessed
... strength, and a power derived from
... at what they pleased.
... were at length formed; a sort of
... time was established; and, before the
... they had acquired such an organi-
... it dangerous to move about in the
... Hong Kong or Macao. They even
... trading-boats, which were intended
... from plunder, for a regular payment of
... a month; yet even these were not
... New facts were daily coming to
... the war was over, which showed with
... ramifications these societies had spread.
... was in danger of daily attacks from
... and, as it became at length evi-
... cation of *both* governments, the
... ese, could alone effectually put an
... atrages, Sir Henry Pottinger made
... ect to the Chinese authorities. Our
... were scarcely sufficient to effect the
... ect of their European shape and
... ily distinguished at a distance,
... plenty of time to escape. It
... , to have a number of fast-
... rigged very much after the Chi-

nese fashion, with mat-sails, &c., to be well armed, and to be manned principally by our own men. They would thus be able to come unsuspected upon the pirates. Various other suggestions were made for the mutual co-operation of the two governments in the good work; but, owing probably to fear and jealousy, and perhaps a mixture of pride, these offers were courteously and respectfully declined by the Chinese government, who declared that it would be able, now that the war was ended, to take effectual steps to put an end to this heavy source of annoyance at the mouth of the Canton river. It remains to be seen whether their measures will be effectual. Exertions, on our side, have been continued with the same object.

We may next ask, what effect this sudden visit of the Nemesis, within their most secret channels and hitherto unexplored rivers, must have had upon the government and the people generally. They were astounded, and, for a moment, paralyzed. In reality, the exploits in the Inner passage, from Macao to Canton, created almost as much panic among the Chinese as the taking of the Bogue itself. The event was more unexpected, and was thought equally impracticable.

CHAPTER XIX.

Capture of the Macao fort, on the 13th of March—Advanced ships only two miles from Canton—Nemesis proceeds towards Canton with a flag of truce—Letter to the Imperial Commissioner—Is fired at from the Bird's-nest Fort—Preparations to resent the insult—Captain Elliot's communications—Want of interpreters—Attack upon the defences of Canton on the 18th of March, 1841—Flotilla of men-of-war's boats—Flotilla of Chinese boats—Forts in the Macao passage carried—War junks dispersed—Boats destroyed—Captain Elliot with a flag of truce on board the Nemesis—Fired at by the Chinese—British flag planted upon the factory—Notifications by Captain Elliot—Temporary settlement—Trade opened.

During the time the Nemesis, with the boats and marines of the Samarang, and the boat of the Atalanta, were occupied in destroying the works of the Chinese in the Broadway River, a division of the light squadron, under the command of Captain Herbert, had captured another fort in the upper part of the same river, at the distance of only about two miles from Canton. The vessels employed upon this occasion were the Modeste and Starling, with the Madagascar steamer, and boats from most of the ships of the advanced squadron, commanded by Captain Bethune, viz., the Blonde, Conway, Calliope, Herald, Alligator, Hyacinth, Nimrod, Pylades, and Cruizer.

On the 13th (March) they pushed through the upper

channel leading from Whampoa, which had been explored on a previous occasion by the Nemesis, under the orders of Captain Herbert; and late in the afternoon they entered the Broadway River without any accident, although the passage was found very intricate, owing to the number of shoals. The Modeste was only got through with considerable difficulty, piloted by Captain Collinson; and she would hardly have accomplished it, but for the assistance of the Madagascar steamer. Captain Belcher endeavoured to bring the Sulphur through, but failed, as she grounded about four miles from the point of attack. The Queen steamer was found to draw too much water, and could not be employed to tow her up.

The fort which they were about to attack was the same which had before been seen at a distance by Captain Herbert in the Nemesis, and was found to be of a circular form, strongly built of stone, with a tower in the centre, and situated upon a small alluvial islet in the middle of the river, which it completely commanded. It was afterwards called the Macao Fort, and was found to mount twenty-two guns. The Chinese had made attempts to strengthen this important post, as an outwork to impede the advance of our forces upon Canton in that direction. With this view they had constructed rafts across the river on both sides of the fort, strengthened by a few piles and sunken junks, and flanked by a sand battery, mounting eight small guns.

As soon as our vessels and boats approached, the Chinese opened a well-sustained fire from the fort, which was returned with good effect by the Modeste,

which had been admirably placed by Captain Eyres, within six hundred yards, assisted by the Starling and Madagascar.

In about half an hour the whole of the works were carried, but the Chinese maintained their fire until the rest of the force were under the walls, when they fled out of it in all directions, leaving several dead in the fort. On our side only three men were wounded. Captain Kuper, and commanders Barlow, Giffard, Anson, and Clarke, volunteered their services on this occasion, and the marines were commanded by Lieutenant Stransham. A large mandarin-boat was captured before the Chinese could carry it away; and a small garrison was immediately placed in the fort, the Modeste remaining at anchor some way below it.

Thus another of the important defences of the Chinese in advance of Canton had fallen; and the passage for our light squadron up to the provincial capital lay almost completely open. Our advanced ships had now been brought much nearer the city than the Chinese, or perhaps even our own officers, had previously thought possible. All the important operations which have been described in the Broadway River, commencing from Macao upwards, to within two miles of Canton, had been effected in the short space of three days, viz., on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March, 1841.

On the 16th, Captains Herbert, Bourchier, Bethune, and other officers, came on board the Nemesis at Whampoa, and proceeded along the upper channel towards the Macao passage. In the afternoon, the Nemesis joined the Modeste, which was still at anchor below the

fort. A passage was soon cleared through the rafts, and she pursued her course, with the object of taking up a chop or despatch from Captain Elliot, addressed to the Imperial Commissioner, and at the same time to explore the nature of the passage above the fort. But, scarcely had she passed the stakes, when she had reason to find that new passages are not always free from danger, for she struck heavily upon a sunken rock. This obstacle, however, was not situated in the broadest and most frequented channel, which leads past the fort on its eastern side, but in the narrower passage on the western side of the fort. The concussion made the vessel tremble; and, had she been built of wood instead of iron, she could hardly have escaped suffering some severe injury.

After considerable delay and exertion she was got off again, having thus proved both the advantage of iron, and the danger of trying to pass on that side. Before she advanced further towards Canton, it was thought proper to hoist a flag of truce; but, knowing at the same time how little the Chinese respect for it could be depended on, a division of armed boats was taken in tow, in case of meeting with any sudden attack from the enemy.

Upwards of a mile further on, a newly-constructed field-work was discovered upon a rising ground, surrounded and partially concealed by trees. It was situated upon the left bank of the river, and was called the Birdsnest Fort. In front of it, the passage of the river was obstructed by a strong raft, reaching quite across it, and well moored; while, further on, just at the

point of junction with the Canton river, a number of war-junks and armed boats were drawn up for its defence, nearly opposite Shameen, which is about half a mile above the factories.

The steamer was now stopped; and it was resolved to send a boat, with a flag of truce flying, in order to attempt to carry up Captain Elliot's letter. The flag of truce was also flying upon the Nemesis and all the other boats. Captain Bethune, having undertaken this charge, had just pushed off from the steamer, when a shower of grape-shot was discharged from the Birds-nest Fort. Fortunately, no injury was done, as the shot passed over the boats; but the flags of truce were immediately lowered; and the guns of the Nemesis, and also those of the boats, opened fire upon the fort, in retaliation of the hostile act of the Chinese. At the same time, the junks ahead, and also the battery at Shameen, commenced a distant straggling fire, much beyond effective range. A rocket thrown from the Nemesis fell into the middle of the fort, and partially set fire to the buildings, and it would have been very easy to have carried the works by assault; but orders to the contrary were given by Captain Herbert, who was not desirous of carrying hostilities further, without the sanction of Captain Elliot. He immediately returned to Whampoa, in order to bring up some of the light squadron, with a view to advance, if necessary, upon Canton itself.

There were good reasons for not wasting time at the fort that evening; but, unfortunately, it is the practice of the Chinese always to claim a victory, and to report upon it accordingly to the Emperor, on every occasion

on which any portion of our forces withdrew from before any of their defences, without having first occupied them. In the present instance, it was reported, that even a devil-ship had been driven away by the imperial troops from the Birdsnest Fort, and the high distinction of a peacock's feather was conferred upon the commandant of it, as a reward for his courage!

Upon reaching Whampoa again the same evening in the Nemesis, Captain Herbert received a communication from Captain Elliot, respecting the measures to be adopted in consequence of the insult which had been offered to the flag of truce. Captain Elliot pointed out to him that the "Chinese knew perfectly well the value of the white flag, for they had often taken advantage of it to communicate with our forces:" and he then dwelt upon the "necessity of resisting this aggression with all the promptitude which might be compatible with considerations of a military nature." At the same time, he requested Captain Herbert to "confine his operations to the fort from which the shot was actually fired." It is certain, however, that Captain Herbert took upon himself the responsibility of all the operations against Canton, which are shortly to be described; for he expressed himself in one of his despatches to the effect, that he had "found himself forced to make his arrangements without any instructions from his superior officer, Sir Gordon Bremer; but that he felt that he had no alternative but to resent with all promptitude the insult offered to the flag of truce." Arrangements were accordingly made, without loss of time, for proceeding to active operations.

The want of interpreters was at this time very much felt by Captain Herbert. He repeatedly applied for some one to be sent up to him in that capacity; and he wrote to the Commodore, " that there was not a single person in the advanced squadron who understood a word of the language." The difficulty of procuring supplies was consequently very much increased, particularly as the authorities at Canton had forbidden the people to carry provisions to the squadron. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information of any kind was very great; but it had been already positively ascertained that the authorities of Canton had prevented a single chest of tea, or any other article of export, from leaving Canton, long before even the attack upon the Macao Fort; and it was also known that a considerable body of Tartar troops had already reached the city. In short, all the information which could be obtained fully confirmed the impression conveyed by the insult to the flag of truce, that the Chinese were making active preparations for the resumption of hostilities, and that the sooner we had recourse to active measures the better.

On the morning of the 17th, Captain Elliot and suite, together with Captains Herbert, Bourchier, and other officers, proceeded in the Nemesis towards the Macao passage, or Broadway river, where she rejoined the vessels at anchor below the Macao Fort. It was a favourite scheme of Captain Elliot, at this time, to endeavour to command all the lines of water-communication to the westward of Canton, so as to cut off *the supplies* from the city, and stop the local trade.

The rivers or creeks, and their branches in this

neighbourhood, are extremely numerous. Some little distance below the Macao Fort a considerable branch turns off to the westward, and leads, at the distance of several miles, up to Tatshan. About a mile and a half within this passage another channel leads off to the northward, in the direction of the Canton river, which it enters a little above Shameen, on the opposite side. This channel was narrow, and not navigable, except for boats. The Hyacinth had, on the previous day, been pushed into the Tatshan passage, nearly as far as the point where the smaller channel turns off to Canton, but there she stuck, owing to the shoalness of the water.

The Nemesis, therefore, having in tow a division of boats, was now moved up the Tatshan passage, and shortly communicated with the Hyacinth, which was at anchor there. She then turned up the northern branch, which was afterwards called the Fatee creek, in the hope of being able to push up to the Canton river in that direction, and so cut off all the Chinese boats which might attempt to escape up the river. After proceeding some distance, the water was found too shallow and the passage very narrow, and she was compelled to return, having captured on her way a very handsome mandarin-boat. In the evening she rejoined the squadron in the Macao passage, where the Commodore, Sir Gordon Bremer, had just arrived in the Madagascar steamer, which had been sent for him. The dispositions had already been made by Captain Herbert, for the capture of all the remaining defences in advance of Canton, on the following day; and Sir Gordon Bremer was therefore unwilling to disturb the arrangements.

The 18th March, 1841, will ever be remembered as the great day upon which the city of Canton was first humbled; and the whole of the works which had been erected for its defence, along its river front, were captured by H. M. naval forces. The vessels engaged were the

Modeste, Commander Eyres;
Algerine, Lieutenant Mason;
Starling, Lieutenant Kellett;
Herald, Captain Nias (later in the day);
Hebe and Louisa Tenders, Mr. Quin and Mr. Carmichael;

together with the steamers

Nemesis, W. H. Hall, R.N.; and
Madagascar, Mr. Dicey.

A large flotilla of boats, from the squadron generally, was placed under the command of Captain Bourchier, assisted by Captain Bethune, and was formed in four divisions, three of which were under the orders of Commanders Barlow and Clarke and Lieutenant Coulson, and the fourth commanded by Captain Belcher and Captain Warren. The whole together must have amounted to little less than forty in number. Upwards of fifty naval officers took part in the operations of this large flotilla alone; the services of which were likely to be of the greatest importance in capturing and destroying the immense flotilla of Chinese boats, of all forms and sizes, which had been pressed into the service of the government for the defence of Canton.

Mention has already been made of the almost innumerable boats which crowd most of the rivers of China, and perhaps none more so than that of Canton, upon which it is stated that there is a floating population, permanently living on the water, of no less than forty thousand souls. They are the small traders, hucksters, fishermen, and public carriers of the country; and always appear an industrious and contented portion of the people. Of course, the numerous body of smugglers belong to this class.

It was said that one of the most influential smugglers, whose avocations had long been winked at by the authorities, who were themselves participators in the gains, had been suddenly arrested, and threatened with the confiscation of all his property, and even death; but that a free pardon was offered to him if he would contrive to collect together all the best boats, and furnish the men with arms; putting them under the orders of the mandarins, to co-operate for the defence of the city. Accordingly, a vast number of these boats were seen at a distance, drawn up in a curved line across the river, at the mouth of the Macao passage.

Besides these it was known that some gun-boats, completely formed after European models, and thoroughly coppered, had been equipped by the government. Our flotilla of men-of-war-boats were therefore to be employed in pursuing and destroying this legion of the enemy.

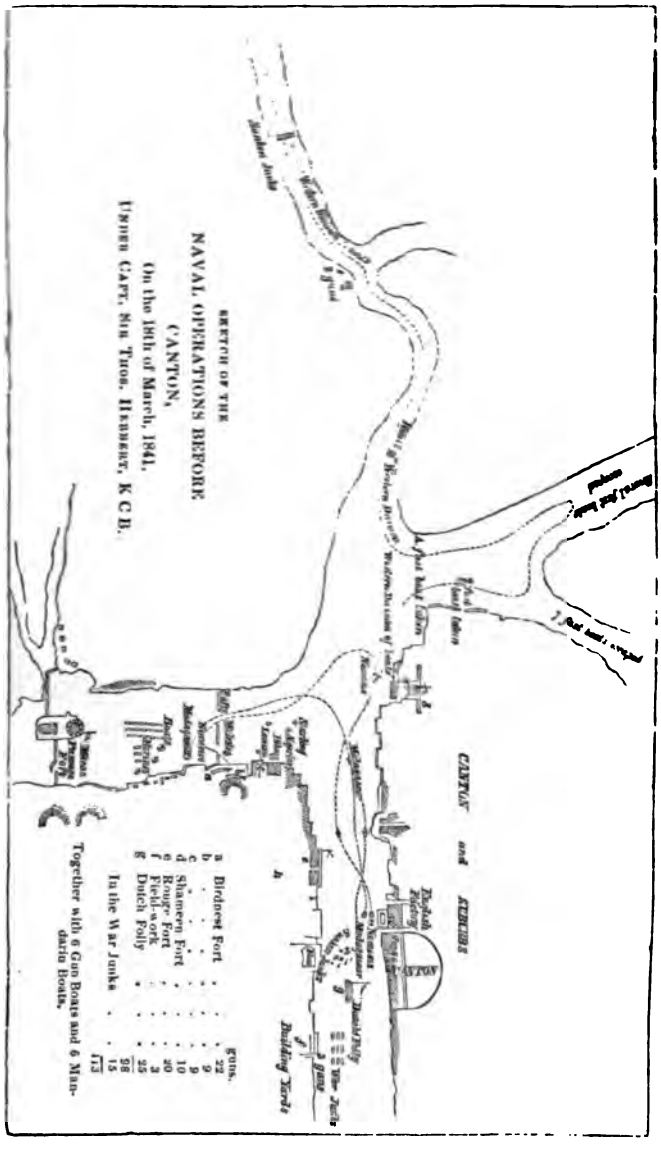
At half-past eleven the Nemesis commenced the attack upon the little battery, called by us the Birds-nest Fort, which she had engaged two days before.

She opened her fire of guns and rockets with effect, and the Chinese returned the fire with spirit for some time; but the Modeste and Madagascar joined in the attack, and it is not surprising that the fort was silenced in a very short space of time. Some of the boats immediately pushed off to make themselves masters of the place, and the Chinese were chased out of it in great confusion.

Another field-work, almost close to it, was also captured at the same time. They were found to mount upwards of thirty guns, which, together with the magazine, were destroyed.

In the mean time, the Starling and Algerine had contrived to force a passage through the raft, and had scarcely got to the other side, when a small sand-bag battery and several war-junks opened their fire upon them, very near the point of junction with the Canton river. The Hebe and Louisa took part in this affair; and the Nemesis came up as soon as the lower forts had been silenced; part of the flotilla of boats, under Captain Bourchier, also arrived, and the sand-battery was soon carried, while the war-junks and the flotilla of Chinese armed boats already began to disperse.

A strong fort, opposite the city, mounting twenty guns, called the Rouge Fort, was next silenced, but was not taken possession of immediately. Later in the day, however, a boat from the Nemesis, under Lieutenant Pedder, was sent to hoist our flag upon it; and another party from the Sulphur landed at nearly the same time under Captain Belcher.


SKETCH OF THE
NAVAL OPERATIONS BEFORE
CANTON,
On the 18th of March, 1841.
Under Capt. Sir Thos. Herbert, K C B.
CANTON and SUBURBS
Bird's nest Fort
Shameen Fort
Fort
Dutch Folly
In the War Junks
Together with 6 Gun Boats and 6 Mandarin Boats.

The large Chinese flotilla before described was pursued up the river by the Nemesis and the boats, and were soon in a state of indescribable confusion, hurrying away as fast as they could—some here, some there, yet hardly knowing whither. As long as they were drawn up in line, in a sort of crescent form, they looked somewhat imposing, from their great number; but, as soon as the forts had fallen, and the sound of our guns came nearer, and the shot fell fast about them, they broke up their formation, and the confusion became extreme.

At this moment, the division of boats under Captain Belcher and Captain Warren succeeded in getting through the Fatee creek, and coming snddenly down upon the Chinese boats, which were already so closely pursued, and destroyed an immense number of them. Some were driven ashore, some were sunk, and a few escaped up the creeks in the rear of the town. If the war-junks were unable to offer any resistance, it could not be expected that these extraordinary boats and inexperienced boatmen would show a better example.

The Nemesis, in the mean time, had opened her fire upon the Shameen Fort, in the western suburbs of the city; and, under cover of her guns, Captain Bethune put off from her; and a division of boats, with Captains Belcher and Warren at their head, also landed and took the fort, after some resistance. It mounted ten guns.

While these operations were going on in the upper part of the river, the Madagascar had gone down and taken up a position not far from the Dutch Folly, which was a circular fort, in the middle of the river, directly

opposite the city, mounting twenty-five guns. In front of it a number of junks laden with stones had been sunk. A small sand-battery of three guns, close to the naval arsenal, which is on the south side of the river, was at the same time carried by another division of boats. Four of the new Chinese gun-boats were also captured.

A little before one o'clock, about an hour after the first shot of the day had been fired, and after all the detached forts and batteries, except the so-called Dutch Folly, had been taken, Captain Elliot came on board the Nemesis, and desired that he might be conveyed to the British factory, with a *flag of truce* hoisted, it being clearly his intention to endeavour to treat at once, without further employment of force. However, scarcely had she got down opposite the European factories, and only within distant range of the Dutch Folly, when the latter opened fire on her, in spite of the flag of truce. Instantly it was hauled down, the fire was returned by other vessels, and the result was that the fort was soon silenced.

The Nemesis then proceeded some little way down the river, towards the Dutch Folly, in company with several boats of the squadron. This circular fort was taken possession of by a party of marines and seamen; and, not far from it, four new gun-boats, built according to European models, were boarded and taken, their crews having abandoned them. The Chinese naval forces offered, in fact, little or no resistance throughout the day; and even their forts, which fired with considerable spirit at a distance, were soon aban-

doned by their garrisons, when there was any certainty of their coming to close quarters with our men.

At half-past one, Captain Elliot being still on board the Nemesis, she was ordered to return close to the factories, where Captain Hall landed, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, and hastened at once to the British Factory, both being equally eager to take possession of it again. In a few moments the British flag was displayed in triumph, with three cheers, which were returned by the steamer and boats. At the same time, Captain Belcher also hurried up towards the factory with a party of men, and was trying to reeve the hallyards at the flag-staff in front of the Factory, in order to hoist the colours; when, at that very moment, they were wafted proudly from the window of the Factory, by Captain Hall himself.

As all the defences had now been taken, and Canton lay completely at our mercy, one would hardly have expected that any further resistance would have been made. But the Chinese have a fancy of their own for renewing a combat in detached parties, long after all possibility of doing good by it has ceased. On many occasions during the war, they suffered severely and justly for thus uselessly harassing our men after the day was over, and when our troops were in possession of all the enemy's positions.

On this occasion, as Captain Hall and his party were returning to their boat, a body of soldiers rushed out upon them, but were driven back to a narrow street called Hog Lane, beyond the British factory, and were even pursued for some distance up that narrow passage.

Many of them were killed while retreating, although they crouched down behind their large ratan shields for shelter at each discharge. It was thought imprudent to pursue them far, as in so narrow a space, with low houses on one side, and a dead wall on the other, the retreat of the pursuers might have been cut off. Captain Belcher and his party were also attacked at the same time, and gallantly put the enemy to flight with some loss, pursuing them as far as was prudent.

The Chinese showed no farther disposition to come to close quarters, and our men returned to their boats without further molestation. One man belonging to the Nemesis was wounded during the affray.

Little now remained to be done but to take possession of and destroy some of the boats and junks which had been overlooked in the hurry of more important matters. Late in the evening, the Nemesis anchored in company with the squadron, off the western suburbs of the city, nearly a mile above the factory. The flags of truce were still flying, and it must be admitted that greater forbearance towards the Chinese, or more unwillingness to proceed to the infliction of suffering upon the people or city of Canton, could not possibly have been exhibited than on this memorable day of the first capture of Canton. When all their defences had been taken, their ships and boats destroyed, their troops dispersed, and their city left totally unprotected, we not only restrained the ardour which belongs to victory, and held back our hands from plunder and destruction, and even our voice from demanding apology for the past, or security for the future, but even the very flag

of truce which they had so often insulted and spurned was displayed to their eyes as an assurance of our forbearance and good faith.

It must not be omitted to state that Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer got up, towards the close of the action, in the Hyacinth's gig, just in time to see the British flag displayed from the Factory. The Herald also arrived as a reinforcement, in the latter part of the day.

One officer and six or seven men wounded were the only casualties on our side, throughout all the operations of the 18th of March.

It was said that several desultory outbreaks of the mob occurred during the evening of this day, which were with some difficulty suppressed by the police. They were in most instances the outbursts of the evil passions of the demoralized mob of Canton, the worst of all the subjects of China, attracted to the centre of foreign commerce, by the hope of profit, or the opportunity of exercising their bad ingenuity. In no part of China has the feeling of hostility to the foreigner prevailed more strongly against us than at Canton. In many other districts, the English force was even welcomed, or, at all events, received without insult or violence.

It is worthy of remark that, during the whole of the following day, the 19th, nothing of importance was done, either as to the further progress of hostilities, or as to the demanding any specified terms from the Chinese. It is easy to guess what interpretation was put upon our inactivity by the authorities and the people. The motive on our part seems to have been principally one of pure compassion, and an unwillingness to take the initiative

of *proposing* terms to the Chinese, which it was their part, as the conquered, to solicit.

After the lapse of one entire day, Captain Elliot and suite were carried down to the Factory in the Nemesis, on the morning of the 20th, where they landed soon after mid-day. There could be little doubt that something important would now be settled. Captain Elliot was bent upon getting the trade opened, and no less so upon bringing about a cessation of hostilities. He was not altogether wrong, perhaps, even in the slowness of his proceedings, considering the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed; but there were not a few who looked upon it as unfortunate that so little was really done, when there was every reason to expect so much. He seems to have merely miscalculated the importance, or, perhaps, the exigency, of the political crisis in which he found himself placed. He viewed the whole matter almost exclusively as a commercial question, appearing to forget, that where force has been once used on both sides, the commercial becomes necessarily merged for the moment in the political complications which arise out of it.

The first public notification was by a circular dated at the hall of the British Factory; by which it was announced that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon between the Imperial Commissioner, Yang-Fang, and Captain Elliot. It was further agreed that the trade of the port of Canton should at once be opened. With regard to the opium-trade, it was settled that no bond, such as had formerly been demanded by Lin, should now be required, but that the same liabilities should be

incurred by any British subject detected in the act of introducing any unlawful goods, as would follow the same offences in England.

Captain Elliot also distinctly intimated that, "pending the final settlement of affairs between the two countries, the usual port charges and other dues should continue to be paid as heretofore."

All those, however, who had watched the course of events, and had studied in the slightest degree the Chinese character, could only look upon this temporary arrangement as the mere preliminary of the resumption of hostilities, not of the settlement of peace. In itself, this insignificant demand was almost equivalent to an acknowledgment of failure. That it was so viewed by Sir Gordon Bremer is evident, from the notice which he issued on the next day, the 21st, dated at the Bogue, in which he declared that all vessels proceeding to Whampoa, under this agreement, must do so at the risk of the possible (he might have said, as he must really have thought, probable), resumption of hostilities.

On the side of the Chinese, a proclamation was issued by Yang, as joint Commissioner (the other two had not yet arrived), to the effect that, "as Elliot had represented that all he wanted was peace and permission to trade as formerly, and as all trade depended upon the cherishing goodness of the Celestial Court, that therefore it was right *now* to permit the English to trade as well as other people, in order to show a compassionate regard." It was further added, that henceforth the people were carefully to look to and well treat the

merchant vessels at Whampoa, as well as the merchants at Canton.

Such, then, were the slender grounds upon which it was agreed that our force should be withdrawn from before Canton, after all the treasure, and labour, and some loss of life, which had been expended in bringing it there.

CHAPTER XX.

Suspension of hostilities — Rumours of preparations — Sir G. Bremer leaves for Calcutta—Captain Elliot's assurances—Proclamation of the Prefect—Captain Elliot's address to the people of Canton—New passports issued — Captain Elliot's measures against the opium trade—Report of Keshen's punishment — Its severity — Accusations against him—The Emperor threatens to put himself at the head of his army —Arrival of troops at Canton — Projects for destroying our ships—Utility of iron steamers — Expedition to Amoy suspended — Troops prepare to advance upon Canton, under Sir Hugh Gough — Captain Elliot returns to the factory with Mrs. Elliot — Afraid to remain—Warnings to the merchants — Anxious moments — Treachery — Foreigners leave Canton — Ominous suspense — Night of the attack by the Chinese.

The agreement for the suspension of hostilities, made at Canton by Captain Elliot, on the 20th March, 1841, was only entered into with *one* of the three newly-appointed Imperial Commissioners; Yang-Fang being, in fact, the only one who had then arrived. It might be doubted whether he had power by himself to agree to more than a temporary truce, which his colleagues, upon their arrival, might choose to consider at an end whenever they pleased. Lung-Wan, the principal Joint-Commissioner, and Yih-Shan, the Tartar-General associated with him, did not arrive until about three weeks

afterwards; when they brought with them a large body of troops, imperfectly armed and little organized. The news of what had already happened must have astonished them beyond all conception; and one can picture to oneself the embarrassment which must have marked the first conference of the three functionaries. Their alarm must have now tempered even their natural pride, and the dawning consciousness of weakness have awakened their unwilling credulity. But they thought to get the better of the demands of the barbarians by astute diplomacy, or to put off their urgency until they should have time for the completion of their secret preparations, by which they hoped to exterminate their enemy. They little thought that scarcely a month would elapse before the great provincial city would be once more at the mercy of a hostile force, all the extensive preparations they had made for defence annihilated, and all their chosen troops discomfited.

In the mean time, however, trade went on with great activity, but much caution, at Canton. It was generally believed, nevertheless, that the temporary calm upon the surface would be of short duration; and the growing storm upon the horizon gave a warning to all who were interested in passing events, to set their house in order. Tea, the whole tea, and nothing but the tea, was now the question on all sides. The merchants thought of their traffic, and of the barter of cotton against tea; the Plenipotentiary thought of the revenue to be derived from the indispensable leaf; while the military and naval authorities thought much, but said little, yet wondered more.

Rumours were abroad of extensive preparations being actively in progress by the Chinese, somewhere or other above Canton; but the precise situation of them was not discovered until the second attack was made upon the city, in the month of May. It was said that numerous fire-rafts were being constructed, war-junks equipped, and troops collected; and it was little doubted that, as soon as the principal mercantile transactions (which were as important to the Chinese as they were to the foreigners) should be completed, a renewal of hostilities would take place, probably ushered in by some act of treachery on the part of the Chinese.

This impression became more and more prevalent towards the end of April and the beginning of May, and put all the European residents into a high state of suspense and anxiety. It was satisfactory, however, to know that, as the greater part of our ships of war were at Whampoa, or in that neighbourhood, many of them could be speedily brought up to Canton; and, moreover, the Modeste, Algerine, Hyacinth, and Herald, were still at anchor, much nearer the city. They had only withdrawn to the Macao passage, at the distance of a couple of miles from Canton, after the commencement of the truce.

The Nemesis, in the mean time, had gone down to Macao, whither she conveyed Captain Elliot and his suite, and took the opportunity of the temporary pause to complete her necessary repairs. Sir Gordon Bremer, at this time, thought it right to go up in person to Calcutta, to represent the state of affairs to the Governor-General, and to request reinforcements. He sailed on

or about the 31st March, in the H. C. steamer, Queen; leaving Captain Sir Le Fleming Senhouse in command of the naval forces during his absence.

For some time after the commencement of the truce, the native inhabitants and traders of the city, some of whom however had retired from it altogether, continued to pursue their ordinary avocations with some appearance of returning confidence. A proclamation was issued by the Governor, tending to allay any remaining apprehensions they might have; and similar pacific assurances were addressed by the authorities, repeatedly, both to the native and foreign residents, even till the very day when their scarcely concealed projects of vengeance were to be attempted.

On the 5th April, Captain Elliot again returned to the Factory at Canton; and, during his short residence there, of ten or twelve days, the authorities and the new Commissioners succeeded in so far blinding the Plenipotentiary to all their hostile purposes, that he himself publicly declared that he was perfectly satisfied with all their "*assurances* of good faith, and their disposition to fulfil their engagements." The day before he left Canton again, namely, on the 16th April, he expressed himself decidedly to the same purport, in a public proclamation, addressed however rather to the Chinese people than to his own countrymen, but calculated likewise to reassure the latter, should they be unable to form any judgment for themselves. And he moreover assured Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, that "he entertained no uneasiness of life and property at Canton."

The skill of the Chinese, in the diplomatic art of

" using words to conceal the thoughts," was cleverly exhibited on this occasion. " The people," they said, " were alarmed, and afraid of returning to their ordinary avocations [they did not say, because they *knew* that preparations were being made *on their side* for a rupture of the truce; but they ingeniously added] because of their dread that the English would soon renew their hostile operations; for that rumours were flying about among the people, that warlike preparations were about to be pushed on, without delay, against the city." The Kwang-chow-foo, or Prefect of the city, was therefore directed to issue a proclamation, intended to reassure the people, advising them to return actively to their business; and most obligingly telling them, with a strong dash of Oriental imagery, that " their families were as *his* family, and their bodies as *his* body."

This had the effect of pacifying the inhabitants to a certain extent, and sufficed to lull Captain Elliot into a degree of false security, which perhaps was in reality much less felt by him than it appeared to be. On his side, likewise, the Plenipotentiary thought proper to issue the proclamation above alluded to, declaring that he did so with the " concurrence" of the Chinese government. In this document Captain Elliot told the people of Canton that " all the reports they heard were false and mischievous; that the Commissioners had acted with good faith and wisdom in opening the trade, and gave him further assurances of their *good intentions;* and that there would not be the least disturbance of the peace at Canton, by the British forces, so long as their Excellencies fulfilled their engagements." That,

moreover, " the high officers of the English nation manifestly cherished the people of Canton very much; and that, if misfortunes befel the city and the trade of the province, the evil could not justly be attributable to them."

Having thus disburdened his own mind, and made some effort to pacify the tender spirits of the timid at Canton, he left the factory on the following day, and returned to Macao; not, however, without first urging upon Sir Le Fleming Senhouse the propriety of removing our ships further off from the city. He requested that the vessels which were before Shameen should be moved down to the Macao fort, in order to show our peaceful disposition; and he recommended that proper respect should be manifested to the government, and that the officers in command should do all in their power to uphold its character in the sight of the people, " compatible with the paramount necessity of keeping awake a lively sense that renewed ill-faith would be responded to by an immediate blow."

This had very little effect in rendering the foreign community less apprehensive of a resumption of hostilities. Few believed that peace could long continue, or that any satisfactory solution of the existing difficulties could be arrived at without further resort to the " ultima ratio" of national disputants.

For a very brief space, appearances were favourable; but fresh troops soon began pouring into the town; and some of the natives have since admitted, that they even knew that, in secret, fresh cannon were being cast, and extensive preparations, of every description, urged on

in the quietest possible manner, evidently with a view to some sudden and unwarned explosion; as when a deep and treacherous mine is being formed under an enemy's fortress, while he sleeps and revels in his dreams, and, not until the train is laid, and the match about to be applied, makes the discovery of his own terrific danger, and the appalling ingenuity of his enemy.

Immediately before leaving Canton, also, on the 17th April, Captain Elliot seemed resolved to take some steps against the continuance of the trade in opium within the river. He applied to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, to prevent any small vessels from passing into the river within the Bogue, unless provided with a passport signed by the plenipotentiary. These passes were to be issued to those alone who could afford him assurance, to his own satisfaction, that the boats or small craft should *only* be employed in the conveyance of passengers, letters, or supplies. They were to be obtained by foreigners through their own consuls, who would apply to him for them. But he reserved to himself the right of cancelling them whenever he should see cause to determine that such a course "should be necessary in *discharge of his engagements*;" and, moreover, every ship or vessel was to be forcibly expelled from the river, if it were proved to his satisfaction that she was engaged in "*dangerous pursuits*," calculated to disturb the truce and interrupt the general trade.

This could, of course, only allude to the trade in opium; and the whole proceeding seems expressly to have been arranged between Captain Elliot and the

Chinese authorities, for he actually obtained from the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, *licenses*, bearing his official seal, which he could himself distribute to those vessels to which he issued his passports; and which were to have the effect of exempting them from *all visit or examination by the Chinese officers*, whether connected with the customs or any other department.

One cannot help remarking that this measure, which, however, was only partially carried into effect, gave an immense advantage to the Chinese authorities, while, on our side, we totally lost sight of the main question at issue. The point gained by the Chinese was, that they at once threw into the background every other question but that of trade, and, above all, that of trade in opium, which therefore they ingeniously tried to make appear the "fons et origo" of the whole dispute; and, having got Elliot to lend assistance *to them* in *one* point, it gave them the advantage of appearing to justify themselves in the eyes of their countrymen, and indeed in the opinion of foreigners at a distance, and who were in ignorance of the real state of things, for the greater part of their preposterous and violent proceedings. On our part, it tended to put on one side, as if of minor consideration, the "demand for reparation and redress for injuries inflicted," as her Majesty declared in her speech from the throne, "upon some of her subjects by the imperial officers, and for the *indignities* offered to an agent of her crown;" this agent being no other than Captain Elliot himself! It put out of sight the indignities offered to Lord Napier, and all who had been concerned in any way in the

conduct of our communications with China since the abolition of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. It overlooked the proper spirit of indignation, which could hardly fail to animate every man who had been imprisoned, insulted, and starved into concessions, which he could have otherwise had no right or authority to yield.

That at this stage of the proceedings endless difficulties appeared to beset the questions at issue, may very justly be urged. But we have at all times to consider the character of the people with whom a question is at issue, in an almost equal degree with the question itself. And it will scarcely be questioned that the character of the Chinese, and especially of the officers of their government, was at that time imperfectly understood. In reality, the proceedings on both sides, between the first conquest of Canton on the 18th of March, and its second surrender under the agreement of ransom upon the 26th of May (which remains yet to be described) were evidently temporary expedients on both sides: on that of the Chinese, to gain time for the preparation of more efficient means of resistance, and for relief from immediate "pressure;" on that of their opponents for the completion of the *commercial* transactions of the season.

In truth, had the local authorities been ever so sincere in their expressions of a desire for peace, the remembrance of the fate of the unfortunate Keshen, for even treating with the "rebellious foreigners," might have made them tremble for their lives. The degradation and banishment of Lin were also fresh in their memory; but

the following sentence upon Keshen was sufficient to terrify them into the most desperate efforts. It was during this interval that they received the emperor's edict, by which Keshen was declared to be guilty of bribery, and unworthy to live; his temple was to be sealed up, and his whole family put in irons, and carried with him to Pekin, where both he and they with him were put to death on the very *day of their arrival* —he by being "cut asunder at the waist," and they by decapitation.

The charges preferred against this able and straightforward man, by the Lieutenant Governor of Canton, were of the true Chinese stamp — namely, his having held intercourse with Elliot on equal terms; his having employed traitorous people about him, particularly the late prefect; his having *prevented* the officers and garrisons at the Bogue from doing wonders; and, above all, his having put his seal to a document, by which a portion of the empire, namely, the island of Hong Kong, was surrendered.

In proportion as Keshen was really in advance of his own countrymen in his views of their actual political relations with foreigners, so was he precisely a traitor, and unfit to live. How blind are human prejudices! By another edict, dated a few days later than the foregoing, even his more distant relations, and "those who officially attended upon him, whether great or small, or who in any way appertained to him, or were concerned in the arrangement of affairs with him, were to be *indiscriminately decapitated.*" This terrible denunciation, in the exuberance of the emperor's wrath, was

enough to alarm the whole nation; but, fortunately, it was not carried into execution to the letter, and Keshen's life was spared, though with the loss of every thing that could make it tolerable.[1]

At the same time, even the three new Commissioners, Yih-shan, Lung-wan, and Yang-fang, of whom the last only was at Canton when the attack took place, were all made to suffer for their ill fortune. They were deprived of various honours previously conferred upon them; and it was even ordered, that every officer of the province of Canton, whether in a high or a subordinate capacity, should be "deprived of his official button until they could make good their delinquencies by efficiency of effort." Even against the rebellious foreigners the Emperor uttered his bitterest imprecations, and swore "that the two powers should not stand together." He ordered all his patriotic troops to advance again, and "utterly exterminate the whole of them; otherwise," says he, "how shall I, the Emperor, be able to answer to the gods, and cherish the hopes of my people?" He further proclaimed, that he had "ordered his own younger brother to lead forth a grand army, fifty thousand strong; and, by journeying day and night, to repair to Canton with all haste, to exhibit the vengeance of his race." He threatened *death* to every man who should prove himself a coward; and vowed that "peace should find no place in his heart, nor assume any form in writing;" and, with still more desperate energy, he vowed that, if even his own brother "should become tardy in his duties, and listen

[1] At a later period he was partially restored to rank.

to any pretensions to make *peace*, even I, the Emperor," said his Majesty, " will place *myself* at the head of a mighty force, and most uncompromisingly make an end of the English."

All these stern and alarming commands were received in the great provincial city, during the interval of the truce, between March and May; and, however imbecile and absurd they may appear to us, they were sufficiently alarming to those to whom they were addressed. They served to render every attempt at a peaceful settlement of the difficulties at Canton *impossible;* and, though they could neither excuse nor palliate the under-current of treachery which crept stealthily below the smoother surface of the truce, they were sufficient to justify in the eyes of the local officers the adoption of any and every measure which could further the great object of their Emperor's commands.

It will hence appear evident, that there would be as little likelihood of making any permanent settlement of the points in dispute, after a second surrender of the city of Canton, as there was after the first one; and that no effectual method of compulsion could be resorted to which did not bring the scene, both of hostilities and of negociation, nearer to the capital itself, and make the voice of dictation ring more near and louder in the Emperor's ear.

For some time after the commencement of the truce, a guard of marines was stationed in the Factories; but, as soon as Captain Elliot's " assurance proclamation" was issued, they were withdrawn. Up to that time there had been, as is usually the case, a division in the

councils to a certain extent; but now the "war and extermination" party got completely the upper hand, and their hopes of success were much encouraged by a report which reached them, that the main body of our force was about to proceed to the northward, to operate on the coast. This was, in fact, really intended, as will be seen presently; although it was subsequently deferred, owing to reports of the preparations at Canton, and the expectation of a speedy outbreak.

The Emperor's proclamations to all the maritime districts continued to breathe a spirit of uncompromising war; and the Governor of the province of Chekeang (under whom are the Chusan Islands), the venerable Elepoo, was severely reproved, for having permitted the barbarians to *retire* from Chusan under Keshen's treaty, instead of having advanced to *drive* them out by force, and to effect their destruction.

Thus, at the commencement of May, the speedy resumption of hostilities seemed inevitable; and the report brought from the northward by the Columbine, Captain Clarke, of the preparations which were being carried on by the Chinese, and of the refusal of the authorities of Chekeang to receive from that officer a despatch which he had been ordered and sent expressly to deliver, tended to confirm every previous impression.[1]

[1] The despatch was believed to relate principally to the supposed death of Captain Stead, of the Pestonjee Bomanjee transport, who had been attacked, and was supposed to have been murdered, near Keeto Point, on one of the islands near Chusan, after the restoration of that island to the Chinese. He landed to make inquiries, being in ignorance of what had happened, and surprised to see Chusan harbour in possession of the Chinese.

Nor was this all. Information was brought from Canton, that, on the 30th April, no less than forty boats had passed in front of the Factories, having on board at least two thousand troops; that they proceeded a little lower down, and landed at a short distance from the Dutch Folly, and thence marched into the city.

An explanation of this circumstance was demanded, and an evasive reply was sent by the Kwang-chow-foo, or Prefect, to Captain Elliot. A few days afterwards it was distinctly reported that the English at Canton were to be suddenly attacked, and all their property destroyed. And, on the 8th May, no less than seventy more boats passed before the Factories, bringing down full three thousand troops to the city, and these were said to be the advanced guard of a large army. It was known also that a vast number of fire-rafts were being prepared, and several hundred divers were said to be in training, who were to go down and bore holes in our ships at night; or even, as the Chinese privately reported, to carry down with them some combustible material which would burn under water and destroy our vessels.

While all these rumours of hostilities were circulated, it is not wonderful that there should have been "a very feverish state of the public mind within the city;" nor that considerable anxiety should have been felt on our side as to what even a day might bring forth.

The Nemesis was, during all this time, incessantly employed in carrying letters and despatches, as well as officers, from one place to another. Constant communications were kept up; Sir Le Fleming Senhouse and Captain Elliot were continually on board the Nemesis,

passing and repassing to and from different points within the river, frequently up to Whampoa, or even to the neighbourhood of the very Factories at Canton. Day or night made little difference; she was always ready. This is merely mentioned to show how valuable a steamer of her dimensions and small draught of water becomes, when operations are being carried on along a coast abounding in rivers imperfectly known. Being constructed of iron, and built in water-tight compartments, or tanks, the mere running ashore was a matter of very little moment, and the mere chance of it did not deter her indefatigable commander from pushing on boldly, into every creek and corner where any service was likely to be rendered, or any discovery made. Moreover, she was at all times fit for service, even of the most trying kind, such as towing ships, or hauling off those which might be aground, conveying and landing troops, &c. &c. Being infinitely stronger than any wooden vessel of the same tonnage, she required only the most simple and trifling repairs, when wooden steamers were constantly injured with less severe trials of their strength, and in continual need of repairs, which necessarily created delay, and rendered their efficiency, even with every exertion of their excellent commanders, less perfectly to be depended on.

At the same period, arrangements for the complete settlement and government of Hong Kong were being continued without intermission. Officers were appointed, a magistrate's court formed, proclamations issued, and establishments of various kinds commenced. In short, it seemed very evident that we had no inten-

tion of restoring the island to the Chinese, whatever might be the reply of the Emperor to Keshen's treaty. It is a curious circumstance that this very treaty was highly disapproved of by the governments of *both* coun tries, the English no less than the Chinese.

Preparations had already been commenced at Hong Kong for the advance of our force upon Amoy, under Sir Hugh Gough, with a view to carry on hostilities further to the northward; but they were now temporarily suspended, in order to meet the approaching crisis at Canton.

If any thing had been wanting to confirm the rumour, not only of the extensive preparations of the Chinese government to recommence the attack, but also to indicate the disposition of the people of Canton towards us, it was to be found in a curious address, or chop, publicly circulated in the city, and even posted upon its walls. It purported to express the sentiments of the people themselves; or to be an address from that portion which claimed to be most patriotic, to the other portion which might possibly be less so. It was intended to inflame the public mind against us, but it was not sealed or *apparently* sanctioned by the government. It first called upon the imperial troops " to brandish their lances" at the English; and told the people that the " cup of the wickedness of the latter was now quite full." It went on to say, " We have solemnly sworn your destruction, even though we are stopped for the moment by the pacific intentions of our high officers. We have already more than half of us moved our wives and children elsewhere, but we have vowed to destroy *you*. Our ambuscades shall be such as neither gods nor devils can provide against; therefore you had better tremble and obey."

All this was designed, of course, to frighten the barbarians; and although it professed to be a mere ebullition of the spirit of the people, there is little doubt that the government were cognizant of it. This is rendered more probable by the circumstance that only a few days afterwards the prefect of the city issued distinct orders to the elders of the people, that they should cause them to remove their wives and children, with all their moveable property, from the neighbourhood of the river.

At length even Captain Elliot himself began to catch a glimmering of the truth, which seemed to steal but slowly upon his unwilling eyes. On the 10th of May he resolved to go in person to Canton in the Nemesis, and, in order the better to impress the Chinese with the opinion which he still wished them to believe he retained of their good faith, he even took up Mrs. Elliot with him; probably the first time an English female had set foot in Canton.

The next morning the Nemesis was moved down to the Macao, or Broadway Passage, about three quarters of a mile from the Factories. Captain Elliot, as soon as he landed at the Factory, sought an interview with the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, and demanded certain explanations from him, which evidently embarrassed him not a little. The answers were evasive and unsatisfactory; previously lurking suspicions were more than confirmed, and Captain Elliot left the factory that same evening, *preferring to sleep on board the Nemesis.*

No time was now to be lost in seeking a conference with the naval and military commanders-in-chief, who were then at Hong Kong; and, accordingly, on the following morning, the 12th, the Nemesis was ordered

to convey him with all speed down the river to that place, a communication being made on his way down to Captain Herbert, commanding the advanced squadron at Whampoa, who was already prepared for an approaching crisis. The result of the conference held at Hong Kong the same day was that the expedition to Amoy was to be positively postponed, and the whole disposable force moved once more towards Canton.

Hong Kong was now the scene of general bustle and activity, a new disposition of the forces was made, and every measure adopted for their speedy junction as near as possible to Canton. By the judicious exertions of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, and the hearty co-operation of all his officers, eager once more for active employment, the whole fleet of men-of-war and transports, with all the troops on board, were ready to sail in five days. Every man that could be spared, except the invalids and convalescents, was embarked. And every ship of war except the Druid, which was left for the protection of the harbour, was under orders for the Canton river.

On the 18th and 19th, having been a little delayed by calms, they all got away in admirable order, full of high hope and promise, that now at length they were to become masters of the great southern emporium of foreign commerce.

Captain Elliot now once more proceeded to Canton, as usual in the Nemesis, which took him up there in a very few hours. He returned to his quarters in the Factory; but, so incontrovertible were the evidences of the hostile intentions of the Chinese, and so strong the

apprehension of the momentary bursting forth of some treacherous plot, that the Nemesis, which was the only vessel at hand, was kept cleared for action, with the guns loaded, steam up, and the cable in readiness to slip, although no immediate danger was visible. In fact, there was an evident agitation at Canton, and an appearance of alarm and excitement on every side, an apprehension of some danger, without exactly knowing what.

Captain Elliot now very properly advised the merchants, by public proclamation, to make their arrangements, so as to be prepared to leave Canton at a moment's notice. On the following day, the 29th, the Nemesis was moved close up to the Factories, or a little above them, for the protection of the whole foreign community. It was already discovered that the western battery above the city at Shameen had been repaired and armed at least ten days before; that a large encampment had been formed to the eastward of the town, for some of the newly-arrived troops; while new works had also been erected on the river-side in the same direction, that is, below the town, in the rear of the French Folly. Troops were still pouring into the city in great numbers, even the redoubtable "Tartars of the Lion Heart," while the citizens themselves were hastening out of it with precipitation. Goods and chattels of all kinds were being carried away; confusion was evident where every thing is usually so orderly; and it is said that soldiers were even seen moving about with matchlocks, and their slow matches ready lighted in their hands.

Our own forces were by this time on the way up, the

troops from Hong Kong had already past the Bogue, and the light squadron had begun to move from Whampoa. Still Captain Elliot was in the Factory, and still a great portion of the merchants remained at their posts, ready to decamp at a moment's notice, yet anxiously devoting every doubtful moment of delay to the purpose of arranging as well as they could their complicated affairs.

The Chinese, finding that their plans were now fairly discovered, were at once placed in the predicament of hurrying on the execution of them more rapidly than they had intended. But still the authorities resolved once more to try the effect of a proclamation to *lull suspicion*. Having found themselves on several occasions so successful in their art of duplicity, they hoped still to catch the unwary foreigners slumbering in their net; and there is some reason to believe they intended to take the whole foreign community by *surprise*, and seize them in their Factories, something after the fashion adopted by Commissioner Lin.

Nevertheless, fearful of being prematurely driven into the exposure of their designs, the prefect thought proper to issue on the 20th (only the day before the attack actually commenced) a proclamation to the following effect, under his official seal. He stated that "he issued this edict in order to *calm the feelings of the merchants*, and to tranquillize commercial business." That "it was to be feared that the merchants, seeing the gathering of the military hosts, would tremble with alarm, not knowing where these things would end." That, "instead of being frightened out of their wits, so as to

abandon their goods, and secretly go away, they ought to be assured that the Imperial Commissioner and general pacificator of the rebels, with the other higher officers, would manage things with due consideration, so that the obedient shall be protected from all injury, and their goods preserved in safety." He concluded by saying "that the foreign merchants ought also to remain *quiet in their lawful* pursuits, continuing their trade as usual, without alarm or suspicion."

Perhaps a more barefaced specimen of cool calculating hypocrisy was never before practised; all this in the face of incessant preparations, carried on day and night, for the resumption of hostilities, and for the treacherous annihilation of every thing belonging to foreigners within their grasp! and the *very day before* the explosion.

But, in order to see upon good authority *what* their preparations and designs really were, let us turn for a moment to the actual account given by the General Yihshan, concerning these preparations, and the purpose for which they were intended. He says, "that he had adopted means, in concert with the other two commissioners, for forming new defences along the whole shoreline," (contrary to the treaty or truce!) He enumerates several forts he had erected, and fenced round with double lines of *sand-bags*, supported by beams of wood and heaps of stones, with pits dug in the ground, to enable the soldiers to screen themselves from the enemy's fire. He went round about all sides of the city, making the proper defensive arrangements. He added, "that a *naval militia* corps had been formed, fire-rafts prepared

and launched, and straw collected ready to make an attack by water." In another memorial he mentions the very places where these fire-rafts were built, and where the straw was collected, and how they were floated down the river. He further regrets, as Keshen had done before him, that the "creeks, inlets, and outlets, are very multifarious, that during the floods the whole country is under water, and that there is no important pass where a garrison might be placed for defence." He had discovered that the hills on the north command the city, so that people may look down and see every thing going on within, and that the foreigners were constantly in the habit of prying cunningly about, and that "it *was, forsooth, no easy matter to prevent them.*" Thus, he says, "all our plans were *found out*, and the foreigners drew the sword."

That the real design was one of treachery, and secret preparation for destruction, is further shown by the report which was sent to Pekin, even after the city had surrendered, and the troops had marched out, (as will be next described.) On that occasion it is said that the "requests of the foreigners were *temporarily* acceded to, and that it became his duty to *draw* the enemy forth *without* the Bocca Tigris, and then to renew all the fortifications, and *seek another occasion* for attacking and destroying them *at Hong Kong.*"

There could be no doubt, therefore, that the real scheme of the Chinese authorities was to pounce upon the whole of the foreign, or, at all events, upon the English community, just as the hawk pounces down upon his unsuspecting prey. Unfortunately for them,

they found their victims little disposed to trust either to their proclamations of assurance, or their promises of protection; on the very next morning, the 21st, Captain Elliot himself thought that any longer delay in quitting Canton would be followed by the most disastrous consequences. It is said that he even received intimation, through some of the attendants of the Hong merchants, that a grand attack of some kind or other was meditated that very night.

It was of course known to the authorities that our forces were already moving up the river; their own plans, therefore, were necessarily hastened, in the hope that by a simultaneous attack by fire-rafts on our shipping at different points, as well as on the Factories, they might get completely the upper hand of us before our forces could be concentrated upon the city. Early in the morning, therefore, Captain Elliot recommended, in strong terms, that all foreigners should leave Canton before sunset.

During this whole day the consternation among the Chinese in the neighbourhood of the Factories increased every hour; shops were closed, goods removed, and several of our officers, who went on shore to see what was going on, were prevented, by guards of Chinese soldiers, from passing through any of the usually frequented streets beyond the immediate proximity of the Factories.

The crisis was now at its height. Many of the merchants had withdrawn to Whampoa several days before, and in the course of this day all the rest (except two American gentlemen) got away in boats. The small party of marines which were with Captain Elliot in the

British Factory, were withdrawn by orders of Captain Herbert, who had come up from Whampoa as commander of the advanced squadron; and before sunset Captain Elliot himself, with his suite, once more abandoned the factory, and came on board the Nemesis. Captain Herbert, however, removed on board the Modeste. And now the proud flag of England was finally lowered at Canton, where it was never again hoisted until long after the conclusion of peace.

In the mean time, the Pylades and Modeste, together with the Algerine, had been moved closer up to the town, for mutual protection. The Nemesis still remained a little above the Factories, together with the Louisa, Captain Elliot's own cutter, and Mr. Dent's schooner, the Aurora. A dull and ominous suspense reigned on every side; a general stagnation of ordinary intercourse; and that noble river, usually so busy with the hum of men, and as it were alive with the innumerable boats of every shape and fashion which ply upon its surface, and that active, busy, almost countless population, which make their home upon its friendly waters, and seem happy in their thrifty industry, all now were dull, and almost still with a portentous dreariness.

The sun at length set gloomily. The darkness of the night was remarkable; and one better adapted for surprising an enemy could hardly have been chosen. But, although the precise nature of their plans, or mode of attack, was not known, yet enough had been clearly ascertained to render every possible precaution necessary. The Modeste lay somewhat higher up the river than the Nemesis, and was likely to be the first to discover the

approach of an enemy in that quarter, whatever might be their design.

On board the Nemesis no precaution was omitted; double sentries were placed; the men below were all ordered to lie down ready equipped for instant service; even the fires were laid and *lighted* in the furnaces, so that steam could be got up in a few minutes, if requisite. All who could be spared retired to rest, but not to sleep. The feeling of excitement was too general to permit repose. Captain Elliot laid himself down in his cloak upon the quarter-deck, while Captain Hall, ever on the alert, stretched himself upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes, ready at a second's warning to give the necessary orders. Captain Herbert, also, who was at that time on board the Modeste, had fully impressed every one with the necessity of omitting no precaution against the impending danger.

Equal activity and similar precautions were adopted on board all the other ships; and already the Herald and Calliope had been moved up the river to within a short distance of Canton.

Note, referring to page 335.

During the heat of the action against the batteries of Anunghoy, a very dashing thing was done by Commander Sullivan, who was serving as a supernumerary commander on board the Melville. One of the boats got adrift, owing to some accident, and was being carried by the tide close in under the batteries. The instant this was perceived by Commander Sullivan, he jumped into his gig, and pulled off to recover the boat, in doing which he was of course exposed to the close fire of the batteries, but he fortunately escaped unhurt, and brought the boat safely back. This little spirited incident was not taken public notice of.

APPENDIX.

A.

MOHILLA AND JOHANNA.—PAGE 150.

The following letter concerning the fate of the Comoro Islands, and the violent proceedings of the French in that quarter, appeared in *The Times* of January 30th, 1844. The facts stated in it have every appearance of exaggeration, but the interference of the British government would seem to be called for.

"The French have, within the last month, obtained, by fraud, possession of the islands of Johanna, Mohilla, and Peomro; they had already, by the same means, obtained the islands of Mayotte and Nos Beh. There are at present out here eleven ships of war—the largest a 60-gun frigate; more are expected out in preparation for the conquest of all Madagascar; and also, it is said, of the coast of Africa, from latitude 10 S. to 2 S.; this portion includes the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat. At this place [Nos Beh] a system of slavery is carried on that you are not aware of. Persons residing here send over to places on the mainland of Africa, as Mozambique, Angoza, &c., money for the purchase of the slaves; they are bought there for about ten dollars each, and are sold here again for fifteen dollars; here again they are re-sold to French merchant vessels from Bourbon and St. Mary's for about twenty-five to thirty dollars each. Captains of vessels purchasing these use the precaution of making two or three of the youngest free, and then have them apprenticed to them for a certain term of years (those on shore), fourteen and twenty-one years.

These papers of freedom will answer for many. It is a known fact, that numbers have been taken to Bourbon, and sold for two hundred and three hundred dollars each. Those who have had their freedom granted at this place [Nos Beh], as well as others, are chiefly of the Macaw tribe. The Indien, of Havre, a French bark, took several from this place on the 26th September last; she was bound for the west coast of Madagascar, St. Mary's, and Bourbon. L'Hesione, a 32-gun frigate, has just arrived from Johanna, having compelled one of the chiefs to sign a paper, giving the island up to the French. On their first application, the king and chiefs of Johanna said, that the island belonged to the English. The French then said, that if it was not given up, they would destroy the place; they, after this, obtained the signature of one of the chiefs to a paper giving up the island to the French.

"I remain, sir, &c., &c.,

"HENRY C. ARC ANGELO.

"Supercargo of the late Ghuznee of Bombay.

"*Nos Beh, Madagascar,*

"*Oct. 6th*, 1843."

The account given in the above letter is partly borne out by the following announcement, which appeared in the *Moniteur*, the French official newspaper, in March, 1844; the substance of it is here copied from *The Times* of the 14th March; and there can be little doubt concerning the object of the French in taking the active step alluded to. We must hope, therefore, that our interests in that quarter will be properly watched, particularly when we remember what serious injury would be inflicted upon the whole of our Eastern trade, in case of war, by the establishment of the French in good harbours to the eastward of the Cape. The announcement is as follows:—"Captain Des Fossés has been appointed Com-

mander of the station at MADAGASCAR, and Bourbon, which was hitherto placed under the orders of the Governor of Bourbon. This station now acquires a greater degree of importance. Captain Des Fossès having under his orders *five* or *six* ships of war, will exhibit our flag along *the whole coast of Africa*, and in the Arabian Seas. He will endeavour to extend our *relations with Abyssinia*, and our *influence in Madagascar*."

B.

FURTHER REMARKS RESPECTING THE EQUIPMENT OF THE NEMESIS.

When the Nemesis left England she had on board about sixty men and officers; but, during the operations in China, she usually had about ninety men and officers. Her daily consumption of fuel was about eleven tons.

She had no *paddle-boats;* but in other respects, she was well found in boats, while in China. She had two cutters, pinnace, gig, jolly-boat, dingy, and always a large Chinese boat. A large platform was also built between the paddle-boxes, instead of the small bridge, which is usually constructed. This platform covered the whole space between the paddle-boxes, and was found particularly convenient, when troops were on board, as it was always occupied by the officers, while the decks were crowded with the soldiers. There was also a 6-pounder brass gun upon a swivel carriage, mounted upon the bridge, which was very useful for trying the range. A rocket tube and a supply of rockets were always kept in readiness upon this platform, besides ammunition for the brass gun, &c. In hot weather an awning was spread over it, and it was always a most convenient place for watching and directing the operations of the steamer.

Besides the two 32-pounder guns, the Nemesis carried four brass 6-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer.

C.

NOMINAL LIST OF OFFICERS WHO SERVED ON BOARD THE NEMESIS DURING THE PERIOD REFERRED TO IN THIS WORK.

Wm. H. Hall, R.N., Commander . .	Promoted to Commander, 10th June, 1843.
Lieutenant Wm. Pedder, R.N., First Officer	Made Harbour Master and Marine-magistrate at Hong Kong, July, 1841.
Mr. Ed. L. Strangways, Mate, R.N., Second Officer	Left sick 29th March, 1841. Lieutenant, Dec. 23rd, 1842.
Mr. John Laird Galbraith, Third Officer . .	Made Second Officer 29th March, 1841, and First Officer 1st July, 1842, and paid off at Calcutta, March, 1843.
Mr. F. W. Whitehurst, Fourth Officer . .	Made Third Officer 29th March, 1841; and Second Officer 1st July, 1842; and paid off at Calcutta, March, 1843.
Mr. Peter Young, M.R.C.S., Surgeon . .	Left the vessel 15th Jannary, 1841, at Macao.
Mr. John Gaunt, Purser	Served during the whole period.

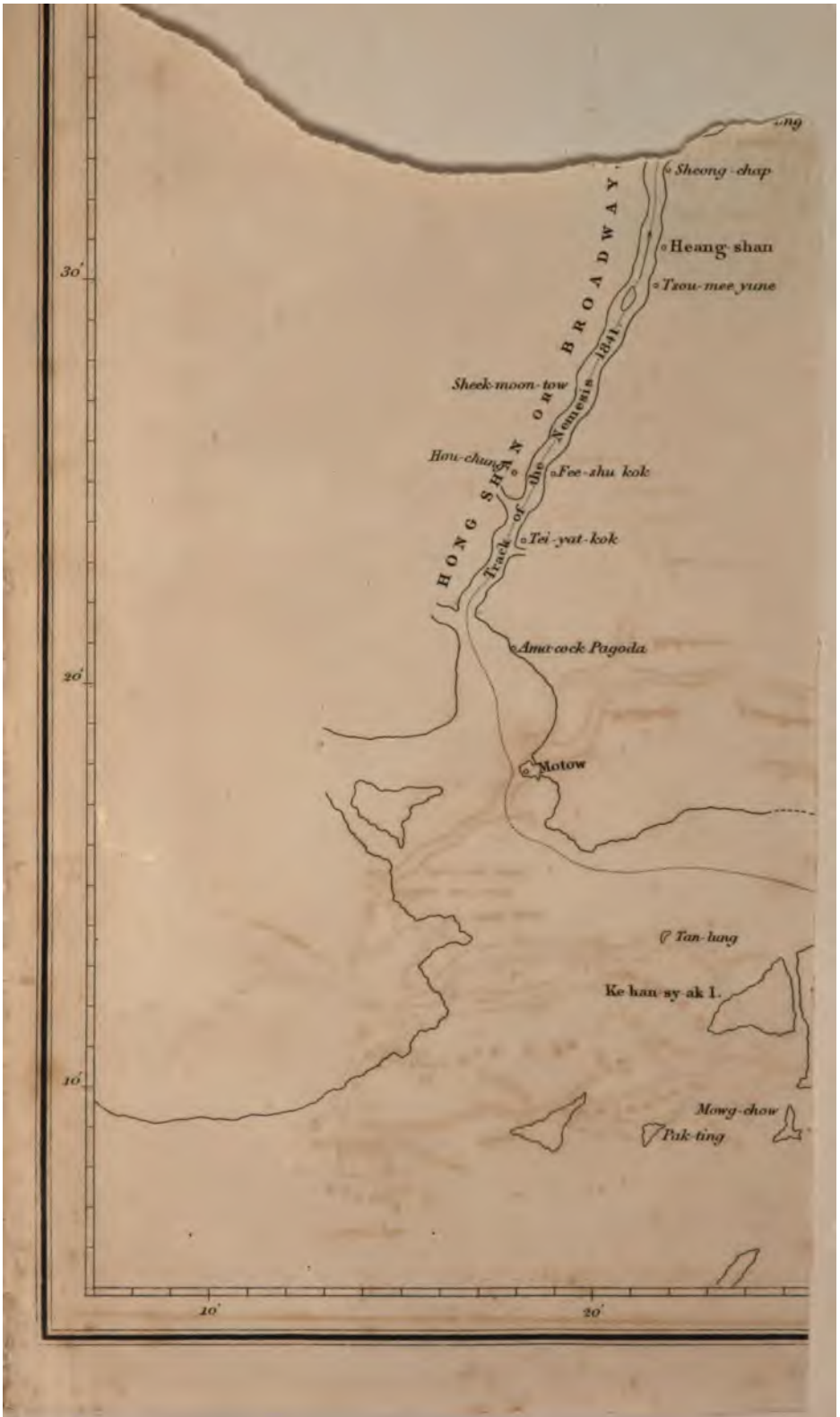
N. B. The above joined the Nemesis in England.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS JOINED THE NEMESIS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN CHINA.

Mr. John Turner, Surgeon . . .	Joined 15th Jan., 1841, at Macao; made Assistant Surgeon Bombay Estab. Oct. 1843.
Mr. A. T. Freese, Mate, R.N., First Officer .	Joined 1st August, 1841, at Hong Kong. Left the vessel 30th June, 1842. Lieutenant, Dec. 23rd, 1842.
Mr. Alfred Fryer, Fourth Officer . .	Joined 1st February, 1842, at Chusan. Paid off and rejoined at Calcutta, 1843.
Mr. B. G. Dryden, Second Officer . .	Joined 1st July, 1842, at Woosung ditto ditto.
Mr. Arthur Baker, Volunteer . . .	Joined 24th August, 1842. Yangtze river ditto.

Engineers—Mr. Colin M'Dougal (killed), Mr. John Kinross, Mr. Henry L. Harley, Mr. Wm. Lang, Mr. David Wilson, Robert Kelly.

N.B. Mr. Crouch, Mate, R.N., served on board as gunnery-mate, from the Wellesley, by permission of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, at Chuenpee, at First Bar Action, and Inner Passage, &c. Promoted Lieutenant 8th June, 1841; Commander 25th October, 1843. Wounded at Chin-keang-foo.


Sheong-chap
Heang-shan
Tzou-mee yune
BROADWAY
Sheek-moon-tow
Hau-chung
Fee-zhu kok
HONG SHAN OR
Track of the Nemesis 1841
Tei-yat-kok
Amacock Pagoda
Motow
Tan-lung
Ke han sy ak I.
Mowg-chow
Pak-ting
30'
20'
10'
10'
20'

C.

NOMINAL LIST OF OFFICERS WHO SERVED ON BOARD THE NEMESIS DURING THE PERIOD REFERRED TO IN THIS WORK.

Wm. H. Hall, R.N., Commander . .	Promoted to Commander, 10th June, 1843.
Lieutenant Wm. Pedder, R.N., First Officer	Made Harbour Master and Marine-magistrate at Hong Kong, July, 1841.
Mr. Ed. L. Strangways, Mate, R.N., Second Officer	Left sick 29th March, 1841. Lieutenant, Dec. 23rd, 1842.
Mr. John Laird Galbraith, Third Officer . .	Made Second Officer 29th March, 1841, and First Officer 1st July, 1842, and paid off at Calcutta, March, 1843.
Mr. F. W. Whitehurst, Fourth Officer . .	Made Third Officer 29th March, 1841; and Second Officer 1st July, 1842; and paid off at Calcutta, March, 1843.
Mr. Peter Young, M.R.C.S., Surgeon . .	Left the vessel 15th Jannary, 1841, at Macao.
Mr. John Gaunt, Purser	Served during the whole period.

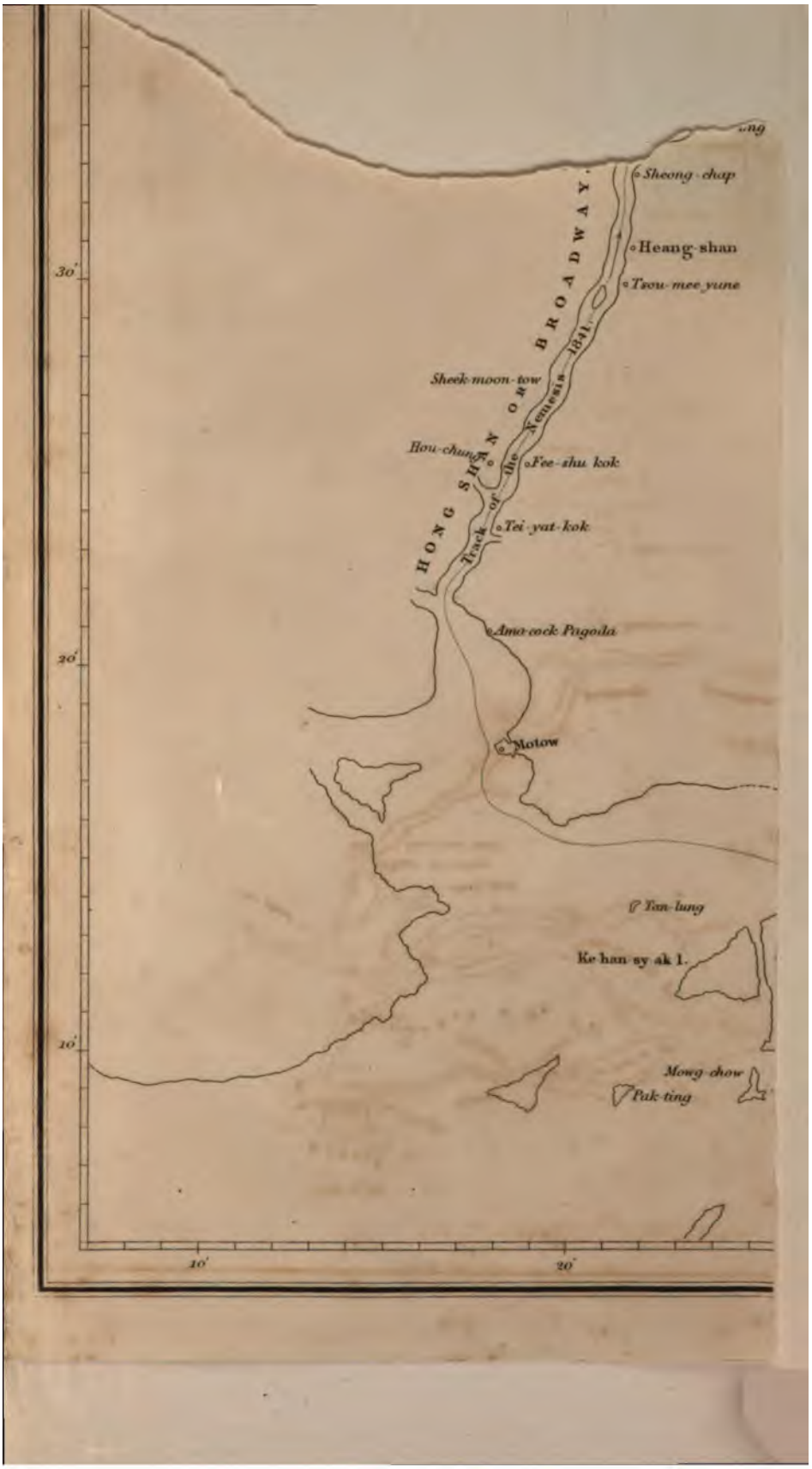
N. B. The above joined the Nemesis in England.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS JOINED THE NEMESIS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN CHINA.

Mr. John Turner, Surgeon . . .	Joined 15th Jan., 1841, at Macao; made Assistant Surgeon Bombay Estab. Oct. 1843.
Mr. A. T. Freese, Mate, R.N., First Officer .	Joined 1st August, 1841, at Hong Kong. Left the vessel 30th June, 1842. Lieutenant, Dec. 23rd, 1842.
Mr. Alfred Fryer, Fourth Officer . .	Joined 1st February, 1842, at Chusan. Paid off and rejoined at Calcutta, 1843.
Mr. B. G. Dryden, Second Officer . .	Joined 1st July, 1842, at Woosung ditto ditto.
Mr. Arthur Baker, Volunteer . . .	Joined 24th August, 1842. Yangtze river ditto.

Engineers—Mr. Colin M'Dougal (killed), Mr. John Kinross, Mr. Henry L. Harley, Mr. Wm. Lang, Mr. David Wilson, Robert Kelly.

N.B. Mr. Crouch, Mate, R.N., served on board as gunnery-mate, from the Wellesley, by permission of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, at Chuenpee, at First Bar Action, and Inner Passage, &c. Promoted Lieutenant 8th June, 1841; Commander 25th October, 1843. Wounded at Chin-keang-foo.


Sheong-chap
Heang-shan
Teou-mee-yune
HONG SHAN OR BROADWAY.
Track of the Nemesis 1841.
Sheek-moon-tow
Hou-chung
Fee-shu kok
Tei-yat-kok
Ama-cock Pagoda
Motow
Tan-lung
Ke han sy ak I.
Mowg-chow
Pak-ting
30'
20'
10'
10'
20'

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DATE DUE

JAN 10 1989
JAN 3 1989
MAY 6 1991
MAY 01 1991

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 01334 9066
BOUND
JUN 30 1945
UNIV. OF MICH.